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## **Soviet Union**

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***Peoples of Asia and Africa***

No 1, January-February 1989

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# Soviet Union

## PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 1, January-February 1989

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[The following are selected translation from the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated.]

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# Peoples of Asia and Africa

No 1, Jan-Feb 1989

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## English Summaries of Major Articles

18070212b Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in  
Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 89 pp 201-204

## [Text] PROSPECTS OF PERESTROYKA IN OUR JOURNAL

As participants of the meeting of the new editorial board  
noted, our journal is appreciated among specialists and  
is reputed as a solid research edition, less subjected to the  
influence of conjuncture factors and an "over-  
politicization. However, the development of science,  
including the theory of marxism-leninism, and the  
democratization in our country urge as well a pere-  
stroyka in the work of the journal. The new board came  
to the conclusion about the necessity of further raising  
the theoretic level of the edition, publishing materials for  
discussion reflecting diverse opinions, enlisting of new  
authors, putting in circulation of new historical sources,

pieces representing traditional thought of Eastern peoples, documents on the uneasy history of Soviet Oriental studies, creating of a variety of rubrics and genres for materials on history, policy and culture, and a more objective treatment of relations between the West and the East, the North and the South, domestic situations in countries with progressive as well as reactionary regimes, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. We should publish articles reflecting personal opinions of their authors so that our readers, especially those abroad, might not interpret views expressed on the pages of our journal as being strict reflections of a certain "official" position.

#### ECONOMIC GROWTH IN TAIWAN: RECENT PAST AND PROSPECTS

A.A. MAKSIMOV

The article is an attempt to analyse main features of economic development in one of the new industrial countries of Eastern Asia. Economic successes of Taiwan, particularly at the first stage—in 1950s-1960s—were achieved in exceptional, even unique conditions. On the one hand, the problem of accumulation was solved in a very favourable situation: about 30-50 percent of capital investments were formed owing to the American financial assistance. On the other hand, an export orientation on the basis of a labour-intensive industrialization was successful to a large extent thanks to a special status of relations between Taiwan and USA and other developed capitalist countries. Together with South Korea, Taiwan was considered by them as a standard of development based upon a free market, and they got, earlier and easier than other liberated states, an access to markets of the developed countries.

At the same time, it would be erroneous to explain the whole economic development of Taiwan only by external factors of growth. Without an effective economic mechanism Taiwan could hardly provide high and steady growth rates for a long period. In the author's opinion, the integrity of the economy, the combination of the national competition mechanism with a flexible state regulation of reproductive proportions by economic methods, the export orientation on the basis of a labour-intensive industrialization, the active involvement of the foreign capital with an effective regulation of its activities, are the main components of the Taiwan model.

Actually, the economy of Taiwan goes through a period of structural transformation. The export orientation on the basis of labour-intensive industrialization is exhausted to a considerable degree, and the future of Taiwan depends on its ability of deploying the science-intensive industrialization, developing high-technology industrial branches and the tertiary sector, exporting complex, science-intensive production.

#### NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN LIGHT OF NEW POLITICAL THINKING (EXAMPLE OF ETHIOPIA)

G.A. KRYLOVA

The Soviet experience of a socialist remaking of society exerted a great influence on the life of a number of states of the "third world," which declared their non-capitalist orientation. For a long time the Soviet model of socialism has been considered as a standard. However, as the practice has proven, attempts of its reproduction in Afro-Asian countries often have grave consequences.

The analysis of the national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia is of considerable interest from the point of the destiny of such revolutions in principle. Is it possible for a national-democratic revolution in a backward country to grow into a socialist revolution or, notwithstanding all its radicalism and marxist banners under which it is often deployed, the role prepared for it by the history, the actual situation of world development, the balance of forces between the two social systems, consists merely in acceleration of reforms of bourgeois-democratic type? In the final analysis, the type of revolution is determined by the level of formational development of a society.

In the author's opinion, we need an essentially new concept and model of transition of backward countries to the socialism to take into account real contradictions and disproportions of their political and economic development. However, as the social practice witnesses, the teaching of marxism-leninism created mainly in Europe in the end of the 19th—beginning of 20th century, can not be simply applied to specific national conditions of liberated countries, with a mere account of these conditions. There is a necessity of such a creative approach to the scientific socialism, such a development of the theory through a concrete socio-economic and historical analysis that, in essence, a new original model of non-capitalist transformation of developing countries on the universal theoretic basis of marxism-leninism should be created.

#### IRANIAN REVOLUTION: "REMINISCENCE OF THE FUTURE"?

S.L. AGAYEV

The author proceeds from the assumption that the study of Iranian revolution of 1978-1979 in the frame of the usual conceptual apparatus taking into consideration merely social and political aspects can hardly give an exhaustive answer to theoretic problems raised by it. A more or less harmonious concept able to cover all the facets of the object under study can be created, in his opinion, on the basis of an approach to the revolution not only as a socio-political, but a socio-cultural phenomenon as well, without a strict dependence on factors of formational nature. He suggests to analyze the character and importance of the Iranian revolution, as any other people's revolution, not merely from the point of a typologically definite social type, but as one of episodes on the way to the emancipation of mankind. Naturally, it does not mean ignoring of social and class aspects of the

Iranian revolution, whose consideration forms the starting point for its studies as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

The article draws parallels and analogies between the revolution in Iran and revolutions of a general democratic type in Europe, in particular, the Peasant war and the Reformation in Germany. This comparative historical context allows to expose peculiar particular features of the social phenomenon which could be called "chiliastic dreams" of the early Shiism on the advent of Messiah in the person of 12th imam Mahdi. The aspiration to defend value orientations of the given type of culture and socio-cultural traditions where the religion still is the pivot, is considered as an expression of the protest against capitalist division and alienation of labour, against degradation of personality, striving for a free and harmonious development. However, as the article notes, at the reached level of social relations a real humanization of life has been substituted by a cultivation of general mediocrity.

In the final analysis, the author rises in opposition to the one-sided negative opinions about an initial common obscurantism and even reactionary character of the Iranian revolution. Moreover, he considers it useful to put following questions: to what extent the course of this revolution made apparent vital problems of the modern world development, in particular, the search for ways to a new system of needs and to the spiritual revival that has now become necessary for the whole world? Is the unprecedented phenomenon of national rallying in the name of a moral improvement of the society, a forerunner of new forms of movement to a future transformation of the social life of capitalist world?

#### SACRALITY OF MONARCH IN CONCEPTS OF MONGOLS OF 13TH CENTURY

T.D. SCRYNNIKOVA

This study deals with the period of formation of Mongolian statehood that urged a conceptual definition of the ideas of lawfulness of the supreme power.

For the typology of political culture the mechanism of links between the Heaven and the monarch is of a particular interest. The will of Heaven is expressed in the first instance in its favour for the chosen ruler. Protection and help of the Heaven (Mong. *ibegen*) are provided only to a monarch (*khagan*) who possesses the strength (Mong. *kücu*). This strength closely related with the strength of Heaven is the reason of the realization of the world-creating function of the monarch. Furthermore, the *khagan* is the bearer of the idea of law and order because he has his genius-guardian, genius-protector (Mong. *suu jali*). These two qualities of *khagan* (cf. *numen* and *genius* of the antiquity) ensure the order in nature and socium at the universal and state level.

The author used narrative sources ("Inmost legend," edicts, *p'ai-tzu*) as well as materials written by European and Chinese travellers of the above-mentioned period.

#### DAIJOSAI—GREAT NEW FOOD FESTIVAL (ON THE CHARACTER OF IMPERIAL POWER IN JAPAN)

YU.D. MIKHAYLOVA

Traditions and notions associated with the attitude of the Japanese to their emperor can be traced back to the antiquity. They were handed down from one generation to another; their influence is appreciable nowadays as well. The most important notion is that on the world-creating activity of the monarch, based on his magic and religious functions.

*Daijosai* (*Oonie-no matsuri* or *Oomube-no matsuri*) is an example illustrating the sacral character of the imperial power in Japan and its alleged ability to exert influence upon the nature and the society. As the article asserts, *Daijosai* is a complex, manifold phenomenon connected with many aspects of the Japanese history and culture. This conclusive and principal ceremony accompanied the accession of the emperor to the throne, it was intended for a final recognition of the lawful power of a new monarch and for the ensurance of the country's prosperity—first of all by good rice harvests for the whole period of his reign.

#### SACRAL NUMBERS IN MYTHOLOGY AND RITES OF PEOPLES OF TROPICAL AFRICA

V.B. IORDANSKY

The article emphasizes that the emergence of a "mathematical" spatial and temporal model of the universe, the society and the human being was an outstanding achievement of the human thought trying to understand the existing environment. This type of a model reflects the collision and the unity of male and female principles in the cosmos, the horizontal and the vertical dimensions of the space, the duality of rhythms of the time. Aspiring to a harmonious inclusion in the spatial and temporal structures of the universe, African societies subordinated to numerical symbols their rites, ornamentation, location of their settlements, many aspects of their labour activities. In the final analysis, the "mathematical" model of the universe helped them to seek and achieve a complete harmony with the nature, the universe, their temporal rhythms.

#### NIKOLAI GUMILYOV'S AFRICAN JOURNEYS

M.L. VOLPE

Anna Akhmatova mentioned his passion for travels. He sang the praise of "the Muse of faraway wandering" that holds a prominent place in his poetry. There were periods in Gumilyov's life, when Africa moved in the forefront shadowing everything else, making him terminate literary engagements, break away from the beloved woman, leave close friends. Sentiments brought about by nostalgic reminiscences of his experience got in the African wilderness, are emotionally expressed in many of his poems. For the first time Gumilyov probably visited Africa in 1907 while a student at Sorbonna. This

tour was but as romantic adventure that vague legends tell us about. Fortunately, documents testifying to his journey to Egypt in Autumn 1908 and three travels to Ethiopia in 1909-1913 are available. For several years the poet's imagination was captured by the mysterious Empire in the Horn of Africa. He wrote: "I visited Abyssinia three times and spent in that country almost two years... I made my last tour as the head of the expedition sent by the Russian Academy of Sciences." This expedition undertaken in April-September 1913, together with his nephew Nikolai Sverchkov proved to be very successful for the research purposes: they collected valuable ethnographic materials. The diary kept by Gumilyov en route contains impressive description of the Ethiopian Empire in early 20th century. There is no doubt that without these extensive travels in Africa the creative life of Gumilyov would have taken a different shape. The devotion to the black continent justified the poet calling it "My Africa."

#### CHRISTIANITY AND "SPIRIT OF FEUDALISM"

A.B. ZUBOV

When the Christianity is named among prerequisites of the emergence of a bourgeois society in Europe this can be explained by the fact that it is one of the peculiar specific features of the western society which distinguishes it from traditional eastern societies—non-bourgeois and non-Christian. It would be natural to see the reason in the specific character of a society. However, if the Christianity has created a certain society in Europe, it was not bourgeois, but the feudal society formed shortly after the Christianization of the West. As to the European feudalism, it has many common features with Oriental societies, and this in not a fortuity. Like medieval Europe traditional Oriental societies are religious societies. But the religious conscience almost inevitably forms in the socio-economic sphere the set of relations that distinguishes the feudalism both from the antiquity and the new-European solum. This includes neglecting of richness, an organic character of the hierarchy, a universal binding by the system of gifts and services, transcendental perspective of essential life imperatives etc. Capitalism was formed in Europe not as a result of the Christianity, but only after its erosion. The Christianity of the epoch of capitalism is watered down to the last degree as compared to the medieval religious tradition, and even this scanty version was quickly eroded in 18-19th centuries giving full play to skepticism and nihilism. We should not say that the Christianity has given birth to the feudalism but the mere development of the antic society, the exposure of its potentials made Romans and Hellens strive for an "Oriental spirituality" that, in the form of Christianity, satiated their souls for many centuries and transformed all aspects of public and private mode of life by making them of an "Oriental type," that is to say in terms of political economy—of the feudal type.

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#### Perestroyka Proposed for Journal

18070212d Moscow *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI* in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 89 pp 5-19

[Report on meeting of new editorial board of *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI*: "The Prospects for Restructuring at the Journal (Session of the New Editorial Board)"]

[Text] In connection with the institution of new rules at the USSR Academy of Sciences concerning the maximum terms in managing positions, the editor-in-chief has been replaced at the journal *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI*. The same rules determined the necessity of effectively complete replacement of the editorial board.

The Problems of the World Economy and International Relations Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences has approved the new editorial board of the journal with the following composition:

Alayev, Leonid Borisovich—editor-in-chief, doctor of historical sciences (sphere of academic interests—



history of India, medieval and recent history of the countries of Asia and Africa);

Gudymenko, Anatoliy Vasilyevich—deputy editor-in-chief (sociology, social and economic problems of the developing countries);

Model, Aron Moiseyevich—secretary;

Aleksandrov, Yuriy Georgiyevich—doctor of economic sciences, lead scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (agrarian problems and the political economy of the developing countries);

Alpatov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich—doctor of philological sciences, lead scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (problems of Oriental-studies linguistics, language studies);

Braginskiy, Vladimir Iosifovich—doctor of philological sciences, lead scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (literature and cultural studies of the countries of Asia);

Chufrin, Gennadiy Illarionovich—doctor of economic sciences, department chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (economics of the developing countries of Asia, problems of Southeast Asia);

Davidson, Apollon Borisovich—doctor of historical sciences, sector chief of the General History Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences (history of Africa, problems of international relations in Third World countries);

Glunin, Vladimir Ivanovich—doctor of historical sciences, lead scientific associate of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences (problems of recent and modern history of China);

Khoros, Vladimir Georgiyevich—doctor of historical sciences, department chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations] (ideology and culture of the developing countries);

Kubbel, Lev Yevgenyevich<sup>1</sup>—doctor of historical sciences, lead scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography, deputy editor-in-chief of the journal SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA (history and culture of the peoples of Africa);

Kutsenkov, Anatoliy Akimovich—doctor of historical sciences, head of the Center for Indic Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (sociology of India and Asia overall);

Litvinskiy, Boris Anatolyevich—doctor of historical sciences, academician of the TaSSR Academy of Sciences, sector chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (archaeology, ancient and medieval history of non-Soviet Central Asia);

Meliksetov, Arlen Vaagovich—doctor of historical sciences, professor at the USSR MID [Ministry of Foreign

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Osipov, Yuriy Mikhaylovich—doctor of economic sciences, lead scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Africa (economics of Africa, international financial problems);

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Vasilyev, Aleksey Mikhaylovich—doctor of historical sciences, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute (the socio-economic history and contemporary problems of Africa and the Near East);

Yakobson, Vladimir Aronovich—candidate of historical sciences, senior scientific associate of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (history of state and law in the Ancient Orient).

Yurlov, Feliks Nikolayevich—candidate of historical sciences, sector chief at the CPSU Central Committee (history of the international communist, workers' and national-liberation movements);

The first session of the board was held on 7 Jun 88 and discussed the question of the directions and prospects of the work of the journal for the next five years. Speaking at the session, aside from the members of the editorial board, were: Doctor of Historical Sciences R.G. Landa (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), a member of many of the prior editorial boards; Candidate of Philological Sciences L.R. Kontsevich (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), who has worked for a long time with the editors; and, editorial staffers B.M. Svyatskiy and A.A. Starikov. The principal ideas and practical suggestions that were expressed by the participants in the session, as well as the opinions of the members of the editorial board that were not present at the session and presented their suggestions later, are set forth below.

*The necessity of a restructuring of the journal, arising out of the overall process of the renewal of the country and Soviet social sciences, as well as from the concrete tasks that are arising before Oriental studies in a new way, has*

*of course become urgent. Periodicals have an important role in restructuring in many realms of our life, including in the social sciences. The journal is thus called upon not only to reflect the process of liberation from dogmatism that is taking place, but also to try and lead, accelerate and deepen that process. There is no need, however, to reject prevailing tradition therein; it should just be developed with a regard for new tasks and new opportunities.*

A.V. Meliksetov. The first place we should start in our reflections, it seems to me, is how to avoid making the journal, which has successfully fulfilled its tasks for many years, any worse. During the years of stagnation the journal resisted it; a distinct tendency to overcome the vulgar Stalinist approach, for example, to the problems of formations can be discerned. Figuratively speaking, the bar has been raised high, and we must think first and foremost about how not to lower it.

Yu.G. Aleksandrov. That is true, we are not arriving at an empty place. The prior editorial board held a meeting comparatively recently with an active group of readers, and the activity of the journal received a positive evaluation. Our task clearly consists of preserving and developing that which was good in it before.

G.I. Chufrin. I also agree that the active readers of the journal can raise much and that they have reached a qualitatively higher level on many issues. One of the chief tasks is not to lower that level. But we must move forward as well.

B.A. Litvinskiy. The journal has its own long and solidly formed image. It is run at a quite high academic level overall.

A.M. Vasilyev. In thinking about the necessity of the further development of the journal, it is obvious that we cannot link it with reproaches of the former composition of the editorial board. During the years that we are calling those of stagnation today, Oriental studies, against a background of weakness and ossification of the social sciences, permitted itself quite a bit of breadth and originality of thought. And that was reflected in the pages of the journal.

A.V. Gudymenko. The journal has steadily enjoyed a high reputation among specialists for many years. This is to the credit first and foremost of the prior editorial board and editorial collective. During the years of stagnation, NARODY AZII I AFRIKI had, paradoxical as it may be, certain advantages compared to other academic publications. Its greater remove from questions of the socio-political practices of the time, by virtue of its field and its frequency of publication, saved the journal from the intense opportunism of academic inquiry.

But we had to pay for this autonomy, first of all, with a narrowing of the academic problems and a move into the deeper reaches of Oriental studies. Second, a steady preservation—if not a reduction—of the small size of the reading audience. Whence, probably, today's definite "self-contained" and "closed" nature of the publication,

the fact that it is little known and its insufficient general-science and public-social ring.

V.L. Sheynis. Yes, the journal does not need to be radically altered. In prior years, in my opinion, it was one of the better liberal-arts academic journals: not fearing to print that which others saw as a revision of the "foundations," not carried away with unmasking "bourgeois ideology" and not trying to squeeze all historical phenomena into the tight channel of formation theory. A good word must be said first and foremost about those people who ran the journal before.

*The ideas of the journal should be devised with a regard for the actual situation in academics. The preferential attention to questions of the theory of the historical process in all of its aspects—cultural, historical and socio-economic—is dictated by the chaotic state of theory, when the dogmatic nature of many tenets that were considered unshakable up to now has become obvious. New historical thinking should be devised in the course of debate. Fundamental articles that could be recommended as a model for the treatment of these or those disputed issues are impossible today. Even the leaders of the party do not formulate answers, but rather pose questions to Soviet scholars, for example: Can imperialism exist without neo-colonial exploitation? Without warfare? Isn't the phase of free competition just the initial period of the capitalist formation, while imperialism is the most suitable form of it? Such questions could also be posed of other formations, features of civilization, the role of culture in historical evolution and the like.*

A.V. Gudymenko. The comparative advantages that the journal has are disappearing in our time. The environment around it is changing too sharply—both near and far. Society is literally choking on the acute and complex problems, domestic and foreign, that are discovered unexpectedly and whose solution demands the skillful participation of scholars, including Oriental and African scholars. Making the development of contemporary problems in the Afro-Asian countries more dynamic seems essential in the following directions:

1. **Problems of general theory.** To continue the publication of materials devoted to issues of formational, cultural and civilizational development of the countries of Asia and Africa. Naturally based on a conceptual renewal and the rapid theoretical and methodological support of leading research. In other words, relying on those, according to V.I. Lenin, "general questions" without the preliminary resolution of which we will inevitably "stumble over" unconsciously at every step. To improve the analytical tools on the paths of development of theoretical levels mediated in the process of researching general academic and empirical levels of analysis. The discussion concerns the so-called theories of the middle (or intermediate) level that create the opportunity of the optimal functioning of the ever more complex direct and reciprocal ties between general



theory and concrete research. It is namely these mediating levels that ensure the continuous and uninterrupted nature of the process of augmenting academic knowledge, on the one hand, and the permanent orientation of empirical research toward socially significant problems, on the other. The insufficiently developed nature of the "theories of the middle level" is, in my opinion, one of the intra-academic causes of the preservation of dogmatism in our social sciences at the general theoretical level, and the opportunism and petty topics at the empirical.

**2. The Afro-Asian countries and world economics and world politics.** On these problems we should reach the requirements of social practice in the form of a set of versions of the development of these or those trends and situations; it is important herein, of course, to avoid incidental features or those outside the field.

**3. An analysis of the domestic development of the countries of Asia and Africa**—economic, social and political—at the regional and national levels and in the context of the strengthening processes of globalization.

**4. I would propose as yet another direction the systematic development of problems transpiring out of the specific cultural and historical system in the Afro-Asian countries and the socio-cultural traditions, religions, ethno-national processes etc. that affect the state of the spheres of social consciousness, social psychology and ideology and social actions.**

A.V. Meliksetov. In this regard I would like to see the journal pose the problem of socialism in the Orient. First of all, it is impossible to consider the developing world and the Third World without China, Korea and Vietnam. Second, without those countries it is impossible to consider socialism as a worldwide historical problem. The self-criticism of Soviet socialism is expanding everywhere here. But there is no critical interpretation of the path traversed by the socialist countries of Asia, if we do not consider the charge to evaluate Chinese reality.

A.B. Davidson. It seems to me that along with the national problem, the race problem is becoming one of the most important for the 21st century. It must be studied—both on an academic and anthropological plane, and on another, everyday, socio-psychological and humdrum, if you will, level. A second direction is studying the person. How does the peasant of Senegal differ from the peasant of North Guinea? A third important direction is the images of countries. What is the image of this or that country in the minds of Soviet people? What is the image of our country among the masses of the countries of Asia and Africa?

Yu.G. Aleksandrov. It would be a manifestation of extreme placidity to assume that Oriental studies is not in need of restructuring. A multitude of acute problems in its development have not yet been resolved. It has an unsatisfactory base of sources and literature, and it is in general developing apart from foreign Oriental studies

and to a considerable extent in a climate of confrontation rather than constructive dialogue with many important non-Marxist directions of social science. Foreign ideas are often considered as falling short of Marxism. The debate here is too often conducted in world-view, ideological and momentary political perspectives. An excessive orientation toward the current needs of ideological and political propaganda inflicts considerable harm on the development of Oriental studies.

All of this strongly limits the circle of research interests of many scholars and supports, in the academic environment, a persistent instinct toward the "inner editor." We have thus not been able to overcome completely the constraining influence that the multitude of theoretical and ideological dogmas, not even so must foisted from without as having taken deep root in the consciousness of the scholars themselves, on Oriental studies and on all of social science. These dogmas are made up of long logical chains in which the substitution of the initial concepts leads to the subsequent distortion of all conclusions.

The journal naturally reflects both the strong and the weak aspects of Soviet Oriental studies, but it is still not a genuine center and coordinator of academic debate as the normal form of development of science in our sector. It does not draw the readers purposefully toward topical problems. I feel that the journal should actively facilitate the resolution of several interconnected problems: 1) surmounting dogmatic inclinations of a theoretical and ideological nature; 2) establishing an atmosphere of constant academic corrective debate; 3) bringing that discussion to the world level via the establishment of constructive dialogue with various thrusts in foreign social science; and 4) orienting academic society in relation to the most topical problems of contemporary Soviet Oriental studies in the disciplinary and interdisciplinary aspects.

As for the relations among various Oriental-studies disciplines, we must reject the idea of a struggle for the redistribution of numbers of sheets in a book among them. The task should clearly consist of uniting Oriental scholars. And this means, first of all, consistently reflecting the most important achievements and topical problems of various academic disciplines and, second (and most important), advancing unifying ideas and problems for the development of Oriental studies as a system of comprehensive research.

Until recently the situation for the advancement of such ideas was not sufficiently favorable, since the interest in comprehensive Oriental studies was basically a negative reaction to the predominant Eurocentric and "econocentric" approaches to the problems of the developing countries. But new conditions are taking shape today thanks to a growing awareness of the realities of the contemporary Orient, which is proving more and more clearly an ability to play an independent and positive role in the world historical process, surmounting the

state of backwardness and dependence but at the same time not losing the material features of its own specific civilizational nature.

G.I. Chufirin. Articles still appear in our journal in which all of the misfortunes and unhappiness that are suffered by the Third World countries are unequivocally ascribed to imperialism. This is at the very least incorrect from an academic point of view. When engaged in the general theoretical interpretation of the economic and political development of the countries of Asia and Africa, it is essential to "drop down" constantly to the country and sub-regional levels. The real processes transpiring in those countries are frequently screened by overall general laws in our country.

B.A. Litvinskiy. Our journal is not propagandistic and should not substitute for publications of that sort. It is noteworthy that all materials in the journal are of a scholarly nature. The chief problems connected with acute problems are inadequately covered. These are the problems of ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the peoples of the Orient, including the peoples of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. These are the fate of the peoples that were repressed by the willful decisions of I.V. Stalin. And the truthful illumination of the Russian conquests in the Orient, which we usually shamefully call "annexation" or even "voluntary annexation." We could do, say, an objective comparison of British colonialism in India and Russian colonialism in Central Asia. All of these are questions that were posed at the 3rd All-Union Conference of Oriental Scholars in Dushanbe and which will be posed and cannot be avoided. The journal should also raise the issue of attitudes toward traditional culture. Readers are interested in problems of religion in the Orient, ideology and social psychology.

V.A. Yakobson. The representation of classical Oriental studies must be expanded in the journal. It should occupy, in my opinion, half of the space (now it is 15-17 percent). Many of the stirring problems that we are encountering today relate on an academic plane not to modern times, but rather to classical Oriental studies. These are the problems of ethnogenesis and the appearance and interaction of cultures and languages. And political considerations, often of an opportunistic nature, hindered us from solving these problems, hindered us from even touching on them. Due to the fact that we were afraid to offend some of our foreign friends, whole branches of science "went extinct," such as Hebrew or Koran studies. Thank God that Islamic studies are now being rehabilitated.

V.M. Alpatov. Only socio-linguistic articles have been printed in the journal among works by linguists in recent years. This is incorrect for three reasons. First of all, language studies are an indispensable part of Oriental studies as a set of sciences. Second, Oriental-studies practitioners include a considerable portion of language instructors who would like to receive some help from the journal not only in the sense of general development, but in their professional realm as well. Third, for the sake of

the reputation of the journal overseas we must print research that is at the highest levels of world science, and no few of them are precisely in the realm of linguistics. It is therefore essential to rehabilitate the practice of featuring linguistic articles in the journal. Its volume is limited, of course, and articles that are narrow in topic cannot be printed. But we could give a series of articles, first and foremost in the realm of comparative historical linguistics, where our scholars occupy a leading position in the world. It would also be expedient to print articles on typology and reports on linguistic expeditions; of course, articles are also needed on the socio-linguistic problems of the Oriental countries. We must not forget language studies in features on the history of Oriental studies. There is little material on Japan in recent issues. Can it be that this country, largely different from the other countries of Asia, will be neglected in the journal?

V.I. Braginskiy. Culture is no less important for the Orient than history or economics. Culture is essentially the very same human factor that is being discussed so much today. Literature is a quite trustworthy projection of culture, and if we take it in the broad sense, as a textual process, we obtain a culture recorded in writing that forms the person as well. We must right the list in favor of contemporary literature both in the journal and in Oriental studies overall. This list is a distortion of reality, because for the modern person in the Orient, 90 percent of his culture is classical literature and 10 percent is contemporary. It is a quite different picture than in the West in that regard. The focus should be placed on culturological problems. We should think seriously about the development of comparative literary studies and typology.

N.I. Nikulin. In order to raise the reputation of the journal, we must rid ourselves of the traits of provincialism and sectarianism. An increase in the proportionate share of classical Oriental studies and philological research is essential. Some scholars have left the journal due to its tendency toward the politization of materials, toward "head-on" ideologization. We must move away from "head-on" methods. Frequently work on poetry, uncovering the deepest layers of mass consciousness, equips us in practice more surely than this or that political article. Among concrete topics for development I would like to suggest the creative results of the 20th century. What contribution has Afro-Asian literature made to the overall cultural progress of mankind? Can we speak of the "look" of 20th century literature as opposed to the "looks" of prior centuries? We must be engaged in a review of the deeply rooted interpretations of manuscripts, genres and whole periods of literary development.

A.M. Vasilyev. I am against increasing the share of classical Oriental studies in the journal. The necessity of studying these questions is clear to me, but we should not break the prevailing look of the journal. Perhaps it would be expedient to publish a supplement to the journal with classical materials, and perhaps to think about dividing the journal in two: one devoted to modern times and a

journal of classical Oriental studies. The basic direction of the journal *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI*, as I understand it, is basic research on the contemporary problems of the most important parts of the Third World, which is what Asia and Africa are. I would relegate among these leading problems the correlation of formations and civilizations, quantitative methods of researching history, the new methodology of historical research, a study of the influence of geographical (or climatic) changes on history, the evolution of mores and customs and the specific features of habitations and settlements. Such topics as the correlation of the traditional and the non-traditional and contemporary and specific features of the development of capitalism in Asia and Africa, among others, of course remain important. We must investigate the concepts of socialist orientation, where we, in my opinion, have put ourselves into a difficult position with our unrealistic approach and contrived dogmatic tenets. In a geographical regard we must devote particular attention to the countries and regions which possess great potential for future development: the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Near East. We should of course also not forget about other regions, including Africa.

R.G. Landa. The restructuring at the journal should consist not of changing something fundamentally on the organizational plane or on the plane of changes in the problems covered, but rather of raising the quality, level and culture of research sharply. We should strive to raise the Oriental-studies level of the journal's readers. A division of the journal may take place, but not soon. It is necessary for all who are engaged in Oriental studies to be reflected brightly and creatively in the pages of the journal.

A.V. Gudymenko. I do not think that we can achieve a rise in the academic level via a simple increase in the proportionate share of classical Oriental studies in the journal. It plays an important role, of course, nourishing contemporary problems with the life-giving moisture without which the latter cannot exist. The quantitative correlation of the two strata of Oriental studies is sooner a working question than a fundamental one. The chief criterion should be the significance and topicality of the features.

L.Ye. Kubbel. The division of the journal and an increase in its rate of publication are all very well, but not realistic for now. The composition of the journal will always be the result of compromise. Out of the problems requiring urgent attention, I would single out one that has already been mentioned—socialism in the Orient. We as professionals understand perfectly well the diversity of world views of the leaders of the socialist-oriented countries. But these views look pleasantly uniform in the materials in the journal more often than not. We must show realistically, without euphoria, just what "socialism" is in the understanding of these figures. Such types of materials could full well be combined with some on personalities and sketches of the "how it was" type. This would raise interest in the journal.

V.G. Khoros. Everything is good in moderation—both tendentiousness and academic neutrality. Any self-respecting journal is renowned for the direction that is pursued in all sections of the publication in unobtrusive fashion. This intrinsic direction must be sought at the crossroads of the traditional and the contemporary. We must bridge the gap between classical Oriental studies and "Third World studies." We must see that articles on a classical plane have an orientation toward modern times, while in works on modern times a knowledge of the foundation of tradition is felt.

In this regard it seems to me that one of the principal directions of the journal should be cultural studies. Life itself is today moving the analysis of cultures and civilizations in the Orient to the leading position—both because it is namely in the modern era that the true hookup of Oriental civilizations to contemporary history is occurring, and because without a regard for the cultural foundation, much in the current events and processes in Asia and Africa remains incomprehensible and the study of these events and processes risks remaining superficial and opportunistic. Culture should be understood herein as a set of values that determines the social activity of the person. These values are realized in one way or another in economics, law, politics and all other spheres of social life. Theoretical work and the creation, albeit in rough form, of a theory of culture are essential. It is namely Oriental scholars and African scholars that can work fruitfully in this field, since intrinsic problems and real life are both leading to this today.

As for the topic of "Socialism and the Orient," it must be posed seriously—in a series of articles, in roundtable form and the like.

It would sometimes be expedient to publish thematic groups of materials, say several articles on Africa or on one of the regions of Asia. A grouping of articles by problem, for example on the problems of indebtedness or issues of authoritarianism in the Orient, is also possible.

I.V. Sledzevskiy. On the agenda are an essential renewal of the knowledge of Oriental societies that had taken shape by the time of Marx, the arrangement of a broad intellectual basis for dialogue with other cultures and civilizations of the contemporary world. I am thus in favor of a new idea for the journal—a journal open to debate on the most acute and most burning problems of the Orient, stimulating new academic thinking. We have something to say on the broadest spectrum of problems in social sciences. A renewal of the conceptual core of Oriental-studies theories has been going on for at least two decades now, and it is entirely obvious that this process has a most immediate relation to the overall restructuring of Soviet social sciences. The new problems are growing so fast that it is already difficult to encompass them either purely conceptually or on the informational plane. The necessity of creating permanent banks of new ideas accessible to the general reader and their up-to-the-minute discussion, interpretation and

advancement into academic practice is being felt as never before. The journal is ideally suited to this goal. The consolidation and development of new approaches is being constrained at the same time by the opposite process of a fragmentation of academic knowledge on the developing countries (by regions, disciplines, sectors, concepts and empirical or theoretical method of analysis). This process is supported or even strengthened by the scattered nature of research traditional of Oriental studies, the very powerful stereotypes of empirical thought and the administrative organization of the academic process. An inter-institute academic journal could aid in overcoming this scattering.

Debates on the principles for selecting and issuing materials, the correlation of classical Oriental studies and "Third World studies," national studies and global studies, and the development of the genre of criticism and bibliography are entirely natural. I intend to hold to my former positions on these issues. A more systematic (problem-oriented) principle for selecting materials and a move of the journal closer to the development problems of Soviet social science with respect for the right of the author to his own point of view. The institution of permanent theoretical-problems rubrics that provide a representation of the development trends of Soviet and foreign Oriental and African studies. Debates on the most fundamental problems of the Third World, evoking the greatest interest and the greatest diversity of opinions. More systematic coverage of the situation in individual regions or countries of Africa and Asia and the parallel analysis of the state of the Third World as a whole. The development of the theory of development as a special direction of research on the developing countries.

L.R. Kontsevich. Disputes on the distribution of materials among areas and the possibility of dividing the journal have been conducted over the whole course of its existence. The journal reflects the comprehensive nature of Oriental studies, and the destruction of that comprehensiveness must not be accelerated. The journal should not be diverted by theoretizing. So-called theoretical materials are proving to be just as fleeting as some newspaper chronicle. The journal should proceed half a step ahead of academic life, printing the best of the academic potential of Soviet Oriental studies. It is time for the journal to publish a composite contents for the 33 years.

V.I. Glunin. We should avoid opportunism and excessive politization first and foremost. We must get along without nonsense—as concerns modern times. The difficulties associated with seeing that diverse material is accommodated in one journal are natural and reflect the objective process of the differentiation of academics.

F.N. Yurlov. One of the paramount tasks, in my opinion, consists of researching problems in the correlation of the universal with the class under the specific conditions of developing societies with a high level of poverty, social tension and low level of education and knowledge of global processes. An analysis of the role of class struggle in the process of its development and its objective limits

under the conditions of existence of weapons of mass destruction is of great significance. Under conditions where the restructuring in the USSR is eliciting great interest around the world, it would be expedient to publish materials reflecting the reaction in the countries of Asia and Africa to the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. Greater attention should be devoted to researching problems of the whole superstructure system: ideology, sociology, demography, ethnography, social psychology etc. It would be useful to cover more broadly problems of ecology in the developing countries, insofar as they are no less acute there than in the developed countries, including due to the enormous overpopulation, degradation of the natural environment etc. I would like to see more research on the specific nature of the development of Oriental societies in their indissoluble connection with global processes, and articles devoted to questions of the interaction of contemporary and traditional forms of social consciousness, including religion and castes among others. Progressive forces and tradition in the Orient is a topic that could be of interest to readers. The academic significance of changes in the working class and the peasantry over the years of independence of the countries of Asia and Africa and the nature of the influence of these changes on the political process, including on the activity of leftist parties, is great. Today the topic of relations among nationalities is extremely important, including in the countries of the Afro-Asian region; several pieces of national-studies and comparative research could be devoted to it. Another two subjects are the law-making activity of the state in the contemporary Orient and the interaction of civil laws and common law.

V.L. Sheynis. The journal should be turned to a greater extent toward the processes that are transpiring in our country today. This, by the way, would raise its competitiveness in the market of academic periodicals. It is necessary, in my opinion, to offer three broad directions. First, not simply the Orient in the worldwide historical process, but the worldwide historical process with a regard for the Orient; a reconsideration (and in no way a naive one) of the dogma that the substance of the contemporary era is the transition from capitalism to socialism. Second: the experience of a number of countries of the Orient, especially the "four dragons," is significant for us. Until now we have written chiefly about the fact that the foreign Orient should learn from us. Third: topical processes that are taking place in the Oriental republics of our country. I agree with the fact that "historical right" in the dispute over this or that clump of land is a weak argument, but the dispute exists anyway, it cannot be ignored, reality demands scientific analysis. Serious scientific reasoning, an honest evaluation of the situation that has taken shape, say, surrounding Karabakh, is completely essential, and I could even point out the author able to do it. Or an investigation of "Rashidovism" or "Kunayevism," not in detective style—let IZVESTIYA or LITERATURNAYA



GAZETA give those—but as a social phenomenon that arises at the intersection of “real socialism” and Oriental traditions of a certain type.

A.A. Starikov. The universalism of our journal looks like an anachronism and a drawback, but it must be turned into a virtue. The trademark of our approach could be the development of academics at the juncture of disciplines. We should not compose the journal according to a set group of topics, but rather constantly trace the sensitive areas of debated problems. We should now, say, devote more attention to disciplinary realms that are poorly represented in our system: economic history, the history of law, ethno-psychology and the like. And the converse: if we are at the world level in some area, this should be reflected in the journal first of all. The task is to formulate the future look of Oriental studies.

B.A. Litvinskiy. I would like to note that our journal cannot be called unique in topics. It is among a number of Oriental-studies journals of a universal style, such as the French “Journal of Asia” (JA), the British “Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies” of London University (BSOAS) and the American “Journal of the American Oriental-Studies Society” (JAOS), among others. These journals, it is true, poorly reflect the contemporary Orient and Africa.

A.A. Starikov. We cannot lose sight of the connection of Third World topics and our domestic problems. Oriental-studies research can shed light on such phenomena and processes as bureaucratism, the mechanisms of economic development and recession, the possibilities of conversion from authoritarian systems to democratic ones, the conditions for the formation of civil society and the corresponding political culture, the entry of local (national) cultures into the world context and their clash with universal values and the values of alien cultures, engendering unhealthy reactions of the type of aggressive nationalism, xenophobia, religious fundamentalism, a simplistic “back-to-the-soil” movement, retrograde utopias and the like.

E.Ye. Obminskiy. Today the journal faces in new fashion the task of the interconnected nature of history and modern times and the theory and practice of social development. Whereas earlier excursions into theory and history were perceived by the reader as a certain opposition to the bandwagon style of the period of stagnation, today, when the state and development prospects of our own society have come to the center of academic debates, this position cannot satisfy the journal’s audience. It is clearly not so simple to resolve this issue.

A clear gap has existed in the journal between materials on contemporary topics, frequently of a dutiful nature, and the profound and durable research of phenomena removed from us in time. I would thus wish that the journal attract more actively authors able to combine historicism and broad erudition with a profound knowledge of contemporary problems. It is namely this that would permit us to introduce all “cultural segments” of civilization and all the

theoretical wealth of the past to the cause of the transformation of our society. It should also be taken into account that today many of the problems of the Soviet Orient have also ceased to be “taboo.”

A.M. Model. The main weakness of our journal is its separation from world Oriental studies. The authors write like they are discovering America. The outstanding achievements that foreign Oriental studies has are not reflected in the pages of the journal.

Yu.G. Aleksandrov. We must demand of authors a historiographical approach. The postulation of any problem should be correlated with already existing postulations both in our own and in foreign literature. Our academics are reminiscent of monologues spoken into the air.

*The link of the journal’s materials with academics overall and the comprehensive nature of Oriental studies should also be reflected in the substantive integrity of the journal. It should not disintegrate into individual portions according to existing departments. The article materials should have an interchange with the reviews department and with “Academic Life.” A problem raised by the journal should not hang in the air, there should be continuation, development, response.*

*One important concept of the journal should be truthfulness of the information and the objectivity of evaluations. We must reject forcing the “face of the enemy.” It is frequently a desire to pin someone or something down or to extol something, rather than informing, that is the higher mission of the academic press, not to mention the propaganda press. We also unscientifically remain silent about the mistakes or even crimes committed by our friends abroad. Today there are almost no prohibited topics, which relates to the domestic problems of our country as well. It is a completely different situation in the coverage of foreign cases, however. An absurd, and moreover quite customary for us, situation has been created: we try not to write that which is known to the whole world. Our adversaries, and especially our friends, are accustomed to the fact that our government bears responsibility for everything printed in the country. If something unpleasant for the leaders of some progressive regime is printed, they can complain to government and party organs. The policy of glasnost has in fact long changed that situation. Debate on fundamental issues is even being waged among party organs. We must patiently school our readers abroad in the fact that our authors are expressing their own and only their own point of view, and not an official one.*

*We should decisively reject quotation-mongering. A quote from even the most authoritative scholarly work cannot serve as proof of a new academic position. It is unseemly to quote the resolutions of the last CPSU congress or a report from the last Central Committee plenum just so as to quote them. It is not well-founded to apply without reservations the tenets expressed by the classic authors on, say, Russia at the end of the 19th century to contemporary Algeria and the like.*



A.V. Meliksetov. I would like to see that somewhere in the first few pages of the journal—for which I would take responsibility along with the other members of the editorial board—it is written that “The articles published do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the editorial board of the journal.” We answer collegially for the academic level of the features, and not for the viewpoints of the authors.

G.I. Chufrin. I support the idea that we need to write on the title page that the materials reflect only the personal viewpoints of the author. The journal should strictly and steadfastly adhere to the principle of the sovereignty of the point of view of the author.

A.M. Vasilyev. The maximum freedom of creative inquiry and freedom of expression of academic ideas should be welcomed in every possible way in the era of socialist pluralism.

N.I. Nikulin. Success depends on attracting to the journal all that is talented that exists in our branches of academics. It has happened that some eminent scholars of the older and middle generations have somehow gotten away from the journal and participation in it.

R.G. Landa. Yes, many highly skilled Arab scholars, for example, have been printed in the journal just one or two times. The cohesion of a strong creative active body surrounding the journal would help to raise its quality.

V.L. Sheynis. Let the journal be a journal of authors and not of editors. The author's imprint must be preserved to the utmost, and middling articles not pulled up. The editors should rely on the editorial board in seeking authors. They should spare no effort to “discover” new authors, especially young ones. There is a wealth of talent among our “academic people,” as is well known, and the administrative system has “trampled, crushed and smothered” them.

*The editors and the editorial board of the journal are proposing the broad attraction of new names for participation in the journal. The members of the editorial board will pursue an active policy of orders. We call upon our readers to address the editors or the members of the editorial board with suggestions of new topics and fresh postulations of questions. The sphere of interests of each of the members of the editorial board is indicated at the beginning of this material.*

*We should raise considerably the informational value of the journal as a mirror of the development of academic life. Academic life is not just functions in and of themselves, but ultimately the life of ideas and their birth and death. Academic thought usually appears for the first time and gets its first test in a presentation at a symposium, seminar or conference, not in a monograph or an article. The journal department named “Academic Life” thus basically contains reports on academic functions. And these materials require both greater territorial sweep and more profound analysis of the actual contribution of this or that academic function.*

V.M. Alpatov. The “Academic Life” section must print information on the researching of new languages not studied before. We know little of these expeditions both here and abroad.

R.G. Landa. We publish too little material on the state of Oriental studies abroad. It happens that academic associates come to some country with only a vague conception of the level of academics there.

V.G. Khoros. The main thing is not to publish uninteresting material. Either brief information or a chronicle notation, or an analysis of a conference singling out the principal things. We should refrain from materials that just enumerate who said what.

L.R. Kontsevich. We must strive for the full reflection of all conferences, congresses and symposia in the USSR and abroad in the “Academic Life” section. This is essential: we are creating a source for the history of Oriental studies. Even a listing of papers, of course systematized, says much.

I.V. Sledzevskiy. “Academic Life” should include materials on the study of scientific systems.

*The achievements of the “Criticism and Bibliography” section are undoubted. But it is essential to expand the scope of the books reviewed and surveyed in it that are released in the union republics and abroad.*

A.V. Meliksetov. The focus, which is here placed not on the reviews, but on the surveys and historiography, is in my opinion the correct one. The journal provides few “dutiful” reviews.

R.G. Landa. The reviewing must be developed in a debate fashion, as it were. There is experience in this—two or three reviews on one and the same book are published.

A.M. Model. The materials published in the “Criticism and Bibliography” are usually substantive. But the choice of monographs for review is random nonetheless, especially in relation to foreign publications. There is no certainty that this or that book is really an event in our realm.

Yu.G. Aleksandrov. An overall conception of “world standards” is needed. The delineation of a circle of theoretical problems that Marxist and non-Marxist thought are struggling over simultaneously has particular significance. Aside from everything else, this would help in overcoming the dogmatic view of Marxist theory as a storehouse of ready recipes for all cases in life. This will also help in fighting the widespread device of borrowing non-Marxist tenets without regard to the logic of the concepts they are a part of.

*The problems of Oriental-studies education were also in the sphere of attention of the journal. The teaching of students, however, is now in such a pitiful state—to the*

*extent that it requires resuscitation—that it is more a public-affairs commentary tone that is needed here than an academic one.*

V.M. Alpatov. Debate is needed on the question of instruction. These questions have already been posed as memoranda. Why are they not now being published?

A.B. Davidson. We must discuss the question of who we are getting from the ISAA [Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa] of MGU [Moscow State University] and from the other higher educational institutions.

*A marked restructuring of the coverage of the history of Oriental and African studies is essential. We must relate those instances that were not mentioned before, and the people that have remained virtually unknown, the works that have grown dusty "on the shelf." The rubric "From the Oriental-Studies Bookshelf" will be introduced.*

*We should expand the publication of documents. Here we should present historical sources and artifacts of religious and philosophical thought, documents from the history of Oriental studies, memoirs, letters etc.*

*The journal could in content become one of the leading Oriental-studies journals in the world. But we must attract leading foreign scholars to appear in its pages for that.*

G.I. Chufurin. It would be useful to bring in the special rubric "International Academic Forum" (or something like that), which would offer an opportunity for foreign scholars, especially from Asia and Africa, to appear with expository or fundamental articles from their point of view.

R.G. Landa. We must print a translation of an interesting article by a foreign Oriental scholars in each issue.

V.I. Glunin. We can print them without translation too. If someone doesn't know English or French, let him learn them. That would raise the prestige and dissemination of the journal abroad.

L.Ye. Kubbel. We should not assign fixed significance to the criterion of the "progressiveness" of the views of the researcher herein. The academic reputation should be the deciding consideration. On occasion our disagreement with the author's positions could be done by means of editorial commentary.

*A purely productive task—make the journal more readable, expand the audience, make it more interesting—should be resolved in close connection with the task of raising its academic significance. It is clear that the more sharp and debate-like the tone of the journal, the more truthfully and problematically the experience of foreign countries is set forth, the greater the number of Oriental scholars that it will interest. Its circulation today—3,700 copies—testifies eloquently to the fact that it is not reaching the principal body of Oriental scholars or a multitude of instructors at higher educational institutions and graduate students, among others. The inclusion of these groups of people to the basic debate problems of Oriental studies, which are essentially*

*the principal disputed issues of all of liberal arts, requires work on content (acuity, boldness, depth) and form (clarity and accessibility).*

A.V. Meliksetov. An expansion of the number of subscribers through people at higher educational institutions is possible if the journal responds better and more often to their problems and prints material especially for them. Methodological materials on countries, for example, Say, "India of the 1980s" etc. We could give more materials in essay form.

A.B. Davidson. As for the supply of material, we must of course preserve the academic style, but not too dry. The journal is somewhat dry nonetheless. More lively writing is needed.

Yu.G. Aleksandrov. I agree that the language of the journal is a little dry. But I would address in particular the style of the debate. It is accepted to debate in behind-the-scenes fashion, while without fail agreeing out in the open. Animated discussion on the pages of the journal would be useful both in essence and from the point of view of form.

B.A. Litvinskiy. In order to attract the reader we must print what interests him. Why not publish a series of essays on the religions of the Orient? The appearance and dogmas of Islam, say, or Islam in the contemporary world, Buddhism and the like. We must think about seeing that articles on culture are illustrated.

F.N. Yurlov. We should not be afraid to fill articles with living people and overcome schematicism. More sketches and materials on outstanding figures of history and modern times and their recollections, political biographies and portraits.

V.M. Alpatov. The largest body of instructors are language instructors. In order to attract them, the journal should publish articles that would help them professionally.

A.M. Vasilyev. If we want to increase the circulation of the journal first and foremost, that is simple enough to do: we must print two articles about the ethnogenesis of the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Find other "fish to fry." But aren't we thereby deviating from the main reason the journal exists?

L.Ye. Kubbel. We cannot, of course, take up the domestic problems of our country. But there is one aspect that it would not be bad for our journal to be engaged in. That is Oriental sources on the history, culture and, of course, ethnogenesis of peoples, some of whom live today on the territory of the USSR. This could serve as a counterpoise to the search, unfortunately widespread in some republics, for "historical" rights to these or those territories that are part of other republics. We must be engaged in that not for the sake of circulation, but as our own academic debt to Soviet society.

As concerns stylistics, we must pay attention to how history is presented here. It is principally the history of

categories—classes, segments, trends. Living people are missing from the majority of our historical materials. Why not publish biographical sketches of such figures as L. Senghor or Chang Kaishek?

V.I. Glunin. This is a journal for specialists made by specialists. Striving to increase circulation at all costs does not seem to me to be the main task.

N.I. Nikulin. We must modernize the format, and make the cover more interesting and reflective of the topics.

A.M. Vasilyev. We need not rush to reject the traditional format. NOVYY MIR is not hampered by its modest light-blue cover.

A.A. Starikov. An image of the journal as an academic and primarily theoretical and methodological publication intended for a narrow circle of specialists has taken shape among readers. We should hardly destroy that image, the more so as it corresponds to the functional purpose of NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. The style of "noble conservatism" in format, the level of addressing problems and the orientation toward the audience corresponds to this type of journal around the world. Such journals prefer to preserve their image for decades, and even centuries, thereby symbolically emphasizing the inflexibility of their academic traditions, fundamental nature and unreceptiveness to changing fashion and various types of opportunism. Are sharp changes in the look of the journal and a marked expansion of the size (and consequently the composition) of its reading audience compatible with its indigenous tasks? Won't a shift in the orientation of the journal toward greater popularity, accessibility of materials, toward elementary entertainment, sensationalism and burning topicality, inflict harm on its principal mission? A trend has been noted in the evolution of our liberal-arts academic journals in the direction of their convergence, where there is a depersonalization and "collectivization" of topics, genres and rubrics and a chase after one and the same fashionable topics and authors. We should on the contrary try and preserve our individuality.

V.L. Sheynis. The journal will of course have to work under more difficult conditions: its academic and civil boldness, it must be hoped, will cease to distinguish it among other publications, while the competition for the reader's time will grow sharper. Let's be realistic: until the topics of the journal are interdisciplinary, it will not be interesting to all, and that will inevitably restrain growth in circulation. It is moreover not always easy for even a highly skilled author with academic prestige to write an article able to attract the attention of a wide circle of his colleagues. A realistic postulation of the goal, in my opinion, should envisage not so much growth in circulation as the preservation or raising, as was expressed here, of the height of the bar—the academic prestige of the journal—which finds concrete expression both in informal public opinion and in such indicators as the index of quotability, foreign subscriptions etc.

*The task of preserving the comprehensiveness of Oriental studies is clearly connected not only with the conceptual-substance aspect of the journal, but also with the form of the supply of materials. If the journal is to be not for the "China scholar," the "Arab scholar" etc. but rather for the Oriental scholar, it should contain material that is equally interesting (and accessible) to all Oriental scholars. We should diversify the form of supply. The main thing is to move away from the statistical-mean "academic" language that has as its aim the boring telling of what is understood. We should not fear complex academic language that requires certain qualifications of the reader, but if the discussion concerns what is fully understood, it can be written in interesting fashion.*

*The current name of the journal is not the most apt. It makes one think that the journal is ethnographic. It can also be confused with the name of another journal, AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA. The journal could be given the name "Oriental and African Studies," but would that foster an increase in the number of subscribers? We ask the readers to express their opinions on two issues: should the journal be renamed? If so, what name would you suggest?*

L.B. Alayev. The exchange of opinions has provided rich food for thought on the fate of Oriental studies and the fate of the journal. Every journal is obligated to strive for an expansion of its audience, because the sense of its activity in influencing the process, in this case an academic one, and an increase in circulation signify a strengthening of that influence. But we should not strive for this at any price, not at the price of the loss of the image and individuality of the journal.

The word "stagnation" is today becoming an overused word, but it describes best of all, in my opinion, the situation that took shape in recent decades in the social sciences. We are in a situation where the classical academic forms for the augmentation of knowledge—accumulation grain by grain within a certain system of views (paradigms)—is moving temporarily to the background. The paradigm itself, the axiomatics of our methodology, so to speak, are changing. The social sciences are in need of a shakeup. And if we are successful in realizing that task, interest in the journal will grow, which will ultimately have an effect on its circulation. The interconnection of academic and operational economic tasks, an interconnection that is naturally equivocal, can be clearly traced herein.

The stagnation in the social sciences was caused by the dogmatization of the theories of Marxism. Even that which is new that has appeared in the sphere of the interpretation of the general laws of history has remained known just to a narrow circle of specialists. However many debates were held, they were in no way reflected in textbooks and in the teaching of history and literature in secondary and higher schools. And people were coming into academics with a theoretical knowledge at the 1940s level.

That which is new in the theoretical interpretation of reality, that which is debatable in that which is new, differences in points of view—all of this should be clearly expressed, protrude, if you will, so that that which is new does not turn to dust, so that theoretical finds and fresh ideas do not simply recede in time in the direction of old dogmas, as has happened repeatedly in the past, but rather lead to the review and non-acceptance of those dogmas.

The battle of dogmatism and creative approaches in practice and in academics has essentially gone on forever. One specific feature of the current stage consists of the fact that this has become a battle for survival. The most "unshakable" dogmas are now forcibly placed in doubt. The new has now come to be valued more than the "correct."

Apprehensions are sometimes expressed that the review of long-standing truths will undermine the foundations of Marxist-Leninist teaching. Naturally we cannot destroy and jettison everything. But the danger is something quite different—almost nothing has yet been broken, and dogmatism still holds us all in its tight embrace. Marxism as a theory is threatened only by those who strove and are striving to impede its development.

The participants in this session do not agree with each other on everything. And this is good, this is a pledge that the journal will develop through the battle of opinions and the comparison of positions. But an understanding of the necessity of new postulations and constant debate is the common idea that unifies both the editorial board and the editorial staff.

*The editors ask that the readers express their opinions on the problems that were raised at the session of the editorial board. The most interesting proposals will be published under the rubric "Comments, Replies, Polemic."*

#### Footnotes

1. L.Ye. Kubbel passed away unexpectedly on 23 Nov 88.

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**Africa Institute Director on Continent's Prospects**  
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[Interview by NARODY AZII I AFRIKI correspondent Ye.A. Glushchenko with USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute Director and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Anatoliy Andreyevich Gromyko: "The Fate of the Continent"]

[Text] [Glushchenko] How is the institute being restructured in connection with the new demands being made by life?

[Gromyko] In order to know just what needs to be restructured, we must first clearly imagine what was badly structured or what part of the structure is simply functionally obsolete.

In my opinion, one of the main misfortunes is the fact that we have gradually lost the criteria for evaluating intellectual work to a considerable extent in recent decades. An appreciable devaluation of the role of the creative intelligentsia has occurred at precisely the moment when society is in acute need of its inquisitive contribution to the cause of developing and reinforcing socialism.

That is, in my opinion, to a significant extent the origin of the stagnation of social thought, which can scarcely be overcome just using a few dashing cavalry charges by public-affairs commentators. The scholars have much to re-interpret and grow finally grow accustomed to seeing the truth of life before their eyes and not draw conformist and pastoral pictures. Jumping ahead in evaluating the results of policies is fraught with serious errors, as experience shows. Its success depends largely on objective analysis, called upon to assist practice, an analysis that is founded on creative Marxism-Leninism and the new political thinking.

What else does the social-sciences scholar need? Informational support? Modern computer equipment? The one and the other. The material and technical, and especially informational, base for the social sciences overall and for African studies in particular is in need of most serious reinforcement. That which is being done in this regard at the institute is as yet still clearly insufficient. But the resolution of these issues unfortunately does not always depend on us. We can ask, demand and finally "knock loose" the computers we need, but the ultimate resolution of this issue is still not up to us.

What does depend on us, the scholars of the Africa Institute? The most important thing, it seems to me, is the fact that we can and should support such an atmosphere at the institute that would give us the opportunity of posing keen questions, analyzing urgent problems and conducting a candid and honest discussion. And one of the most important preconditions for this is a healthy moral climate in the collective, where each can speak his own opinion. It is better, of course, when it is well-founded. Every scholar, making use of his own and collective academic knowledge, should strive for that.

The path toward the creation of such a climate lies first of all through democratization. It is namely on the democratic basis of elections that the leadership of the institute was constituted in 1988.

Can we say that this process has transpired successfully? In some ways yes and in some ways no. It seems to me, for example, that competitiveness was lacking. Especially in the elections for the director of the institute and the leaders of the academic subdivisions. It is obvious that old stereotypes played their role here. Some candidates were embarrassed and decided not to put in their candidacies for director or sector chiefs, even though they were called

upon. It is obvious that they did not believe in the possibility of success. Such an approach is hardly fruitful. After all, the very fact of advancement of this or that scholar by his work colleagues as a candidate in the elections for director, member of the Academic Council or leader of a structural subdivision is testimony to the recognition of his academic reputation and lofty personal qualities. To experience the trust of the academic collective is of course a great emotional influence. But that is not all. A slogan of Olympic sportsmen is especially suited, in my opinion, for a genuinely democratic election process: "The main thing is to take part." Otherwise no appeals for democratization will be of any help.

We have nonetheless become accustomed to socialist pluralism, which assumes the presence of different opinions and the possibility of speaking openly. And after all, it is ultimately that wealth of opinions, views and concepts in any academic direction that also facilitates the formation of a more integral picture of the processes being studied.

Complacency and the striving for outward prosperity are nonetheless being manifested among many academic associates and is hindering an integral understanding of the contemporary world. They are, to express it in figurative fashion, concealing the diversity of its palette. The scholars of the institute are striving today to make what contribution they can to return its colors to it.

There is no more topical task today than the mobilization of the creative potential of mankind for the purpose of ensuring its survival. The posing of the question of survival for Africa is devoid of any rhetorical nature whatsoever. Millions of people are constantly on the shaky edge of life and death there. Is there a way out of this calamitous situation for them? Yes, there is. And the future of more than Africa alone depends on it. The unique ship of human civilization, overloaded with the ballast of unsolved global problems, will be harder and harder to keep stable under conditions where the greater portion of its crew members are suffering from poverty, hunger and disease.

The collective of academic colleagues of our institute, in determining the goals of their research for the long term, are guided by the demands made by the new political thinking. We assign especial significance in that regard to the concept of freedom of the choice of development path, which was discussed clearly and convincingly at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. One cannot speak in reality of the genuine democratization of international relations and the real rejection of policies of force that have outlived their time if we do not acknowledge that millions of people, for the span of centuries unequal subjects of colonial empires, have today become active participants in world politics and have the right to freedom of choice. The significance of this concept is especially great for the many-faceted African continent.

The institute has prepared two long-term research programs that are intended to be implemented over the next

10-12 years. The first is called "Africa in the World Community" and has as its goal the comprehensive research of general problems that are linked with the analysis and evaluation of economic, social, political, cultural, and national-ethnic processes in the African countries. We are proposing to concentrate efforts within the framework of this program at uncovering the historical preconditions of the contemporary stage of development of the African countries and determining the place and role of Africa in the world economy and the system of international relations. Considerable attention will be devoted to studying the influence of the arms race and the militarization of the economy on the socio-economic situation on the continent, as well as, on the other hand, an analysis of the possible effects of such factors as arms reductions. The problem of the development of Soviet-African relations will occupy a special place in the program. The preparation of suggestions and recommendations aimed at raising the efficiency of Soviet-African economic, scientific and technical collaboration is envisaged. The program will be completed through the joint efforts of the academic staffers of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa, Oriental Studies, International Workers' Movement and General History institutes, as well as a series of non-academic institutions.

The second program carries the name "The Socialist World and the Developing Countries." A re-interpretation of history and a number of general laws of the development of socialist society has been transformed into one of the most important incentives for reviewing and correcting the mechanism of mutual relations of the socialist and developing countries. The universal concept reflecting the integral depiction of the forms and main directions of collaboration, as well as the degree of similarity and the distinctions of the socialist and developing countries, including African, should become the pivotal element in the development of relations between the socialist and the liberated countries. The development of new elements of strategy and tactics of collaboration assumes a regard for both the interests of the socialist world and for the specific national nature of individual socialist countries. Such, in a few words, is the essence of restructuring in the academic activity of the institute.

[Glushchenko] Your article published in OGONEK at the beginning of last year, Anatoliy Andreyevich, contains the following assertion: "The danger of an irreversible degradation of the life of many countries and peoples of Africa has arisen." This is a very bleak evaluation of the situation on the continent. Could you describe the situation in a little more detail?

[Gromyko] The situation there really is grave. You can't portray it in just a few words. Since 1960 the share of Africa in the aggregate GNP of the non-socialist world has effectively not changed, and it comprises just about 3 percent. At the same time, the population of the continent had grown to 550-570 million people by 1988. And according to forecasts, it will exceed 800 million by the year 2000.



The average per-capita income in Africa is 700 dollars a year. Only 32 percent of Africans are literate (the level of illiteracy among women exceeds 90 percent). The literacy level of the population in the countries of southern Asia is an average of 38 percent, while in Latin America it is about 80 percent. Africa has the highest infant mortality rate in the world—140 children per thousand (versus 20-25 in the developed countries). The average lifespan of Africans is 49 years.

The processes of population migration are also developing in unfavorable fashion. The excessive influx of the rural population into the cities is obvious under existing conditions. From 30 to 50 percent of the population of some sub-Saharan African countries is now concentrated in them.

The proportionate share of the machining industry of Africa in the world economy is paltry—less than 1 percent. The growth rate of industrial production has dropped to 0.7 percent in recent years. The utilization of production capacity has dropped at hundreds of enterprises, and in many countries is 50 percent or less. The number of unemployed had reached 20.1 million by 1985, which is over 10 percent of the workforce.

Hunger is one of the most acute problems facing the continent. It has taken on a threatening nature in recent years. The countries of the Sahara region are in an especially grave situation. Sudan and Chad are starving; drought has hit Ethiopia hard. According to the data of UN organizations on questions of agriculture and foodstuffs (FAO), some 24 countries on the continent are threatened with starvation. It has already hit many of them. The FAO report indicates that in the middle of the 1980s these countries were forced to import over 5 million tons of grain annually so as to feed the population at least somehow. But many of them do not have the money for such imports. Some 150 million Africans overall, the FAO notes, are living under the threat of hunger.

The archaic agriculture of Africa, subsistence and semi-subsistence in nature, cannot as a rule handle the task of supplying the cities with food, and the feeding of the urban residents of the continent is thus ensured to a considerable extent through imports of foodstuffs. In the 1980s African countries have annually imported over 20 million tons of grain from the developed nations, chiefly to supply the cities. And Africa is feeling an acute shortage of food nonetheless.

The production of foodstuffs per capita in Africa was 10 percent lower than the average annual 1961-65 level in the second half of the 1970s. It is thus becoming clear that the self-sufficiency of the African region in the principal types of foodstuffs has tended to decline over many years. The constantly growing imports of food under conditions of high prices in the world market, aggravating the economic and financial difficulties of the African countries, is nonetheless not able to satisfy their needs and is not furthering a solution to the problem.

The chief cause of the hunger, however, is not so much concealed in natural phenomena as it is in the economic backwardness and neo-colonial practices of the capitalist West. These factors augment the difficulties noted and made the food problem worse, which has, as the World Food Council of the UN has noted, largely undermined the prospects for any real social and economic growth for a considerable territory of Africa.

It was felt quite recently that the protection of the environment was an urgent task for the industrially developed countries of the world, where the effects of anthropogenic factors were manifested to the greatest extent. But today we are becoming more and more distinctly cognizant of the fact that it is namely in the Third World countries, including in Africa, that the threat of ecological catastrophe is taking on more and more clear outline. The active intervention of man has driven the virgin nature of the tropical belt of the planet out of a state of comparatively steady equilibrium. The spread of deserts, the rapid drop in the area of tropical rain forests, including as the result of active cutting, the appreciable weakening of the flow of many rivers, erosion and drops in soil productivity are all taking on a threatening scale.

The pollution of the environment in the majority of the developing countries, it seems to me, has agricultural origins rather than industrial ones. Under the conditions of rapid population growth, the adherence to archaic and extensive systems of conducting agriculture are still inflicting more ecological harm here than the industrialization that has begun. This is manifested in Africa in particular in the growing advance of the desert into the steppes, the steppes into the savanna and the savanna into the tropical forests. The ruinous consequences of desertification are being suffered by all the countries of the Sahel region (Mali, Niger, Burkina-Faso, Senegal, Gambia and Mauritania) and North Africa, as well as Ghana, Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia.

Soil erosion is a most acute problem for the majority of the African countries. The periodically renewed fires (the complete burning of vegetation for the purposes of agriculture) are destroying the forest cover. The area of forests in Africa has declined by half over the last century, and it currently occupies just 24 percent of the territory of the continent. Soil erosion is closely linked with the worsening state of the resources of the surface and ground waters. The waste-water factor has grown from 1-2 percent to 10-20 percent, and sometimes by dozens of times, in pastureland swallowed up as the result of fires or the excessive grazing of livestock.

The extreme economic backwardness of the liberated countries is proving to be a serious barrier on the path of resolving all of these problems. The overwhelming majority of these countries have neither the material resources nor the technical means to pursue the essential environmental-protection measures. They can handle

these tasks—and this is becoming more and more clear—only based on long-term and effective international collaboration.

We also cannot close our eyes to the fact that the worsening natural conditions in the developing countries are frequently to a considerable extent the result of a rapacious attitude toward them on the part of the major Western monopolies. In Nigeria, by way of example, this has led to the destruction of the whole rain forest and the pollution of reservoirs and arable fields with petroleum.

It looks as if the MNCs [multinational corporations] in these countries are guided by the principle "What is bad for the American, European and Japanese is good for the Asian, African and Latin American."

Instances of the poorly thought-out utilization of modern technology for the purpose of raising the productivity of agriculture oriented toward expanding exports are also frequent. They were thus at first able to raise the headcount of livestock herds with the aid of insecticides in the African Sahel region, but this entailed an appreciable shortage of water. In order to solve the water-supply problem, deep wells were drilled that in turn led to a drop in the water table and, as a consequence, a drop in the vegetative ground cover. Wasteland increased as a result, which caused changes in the climate whose consequences are difficult to foresee.

The extensive utilization of land area for the needs of agriculture and animal husbandry based on traditional technology is leading to the rapid contraction of forests, soil depletion, erosion and desertification. Soil degradation in the Sahel countries is threatening to transform a significant portion of the land resources into land absolutely unsuited and unusable for agriculture. According to FAO forecasts, the area of arable land per capita will be sharply reduced in the near future with the preservation of prevailing trends.

The perception of the inhabitants of the northern latitudes frequently depicts the tropics as some sort of Eden, a "paradise on Earth" where one only need stick a branch into the soil and it will blossom and give fruit. Matters are otherwise in reality. The experience of economic activity in the tropical regions testifies to how fragile the ecological balance in this zone is. And disruptions in it as the result of the poorly thought-out intervention of many is fraught with grave and far-reaching consequences.

Another global problem is also evident. The "greenhouse effect," the threat of which is being warned of by the scientists of many countries of the world today, is a consequence of disruptions in the ecological equilibrium. Soviet and American scientists feel that if the consumption of petroleum, coal, gas and shale increases at today's rate, the average temperature of the earth's atmosphere will have risen by roughly two degrees Celsius in about the year 2025. According to the conclusions of UN experts, the planet Earth could warm up by roughly 1.5-4.5 degrees over the course of the next two

generations for the same reason. The forecasts of the scientists, as we see, differ only in the amount, not in the evaluation of the trend.

The interests of economic development require at least a tripling of the consumption and production of electric power in the Third World countries. And there is no way around this. Can you imagine the consequences of a global nature that this will bring if the developing countries decide to solve the energy problem along the same path that the industrially developed countries have taken?

Doesn't all of this say that an enormous "sauna" and drought are advancing on future generations?

[Glushchenko] In what do you see the origins of the principal and most difficult problems of Africa?

[Gromyko] To a considerable extent in the fact that the contemporary development of the continent is still being defined by trends that took shape in the colonial period. Neo-colonial exploitation is also continuing.

A number of nations are even today guided in their mutual relations with Africa by the slogan of the Saltykov usurper-scoundrel—"A thread from the naked is a fortune to the nimble." The MNCs have taken tens of billions of dollars in the form of profits and dividends out of Africa (not counting South Africa) over the last two decades. The monopolies have long ago recouped the initial value of their capital investments and are now operating with minimal expenditures of their own resources—supported chiefly by the capitalization of part of their entrepreneurial income.

Africa is suffering material harm from the marketing policies of the MNCs. The latter rule mineral and agricultural raw materials in world capitalist trade. As the result of manipulations of the procurement prices for African exporters, for example, no more than 10 percent of the receipts from the sale of the end product of bauxite, iron ore or cotton remains, or 20-40 percent of the sale of tea, coffee, cocoa-beans and citrus fruits. The rest stays in the safes of the capitalist monopolies. The consequences of non-equivalent exchange are aggravated by the practices of monopoly price formation in the trade of machinery, equipment and technology. According to the calculations of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, the purchasing power of African exports in the first half of the 1980s has dropped by no less than 25 percent due to worsening terms of exchange.

The widespread utilization of the mechanism of transfer prices allows the monopolies to create a multitude of interchangeable channels for the concealed extraction of income from the developing countries, including exacting higher payments from them for technology and consulting and management services, intra-firm credits and trademarks—right up to the concealment of a staggering portion from the payment of taxes to the receiving countries. The "second economy" that has arisen in the

world capitalist economy on the basis of the corporate empires of the MNCs and operating largely according to its own specific "rules" is expanding the natural habitat of the purposeful plundering of Africa to a scale that is no lower than the former colonizers.

Yet another channel of neo-colonial exploitation of Africa is the growth in foreign indebtedness. Today it comprises over half of its aggregate GNP. This is much higher than, say, in Asia (25 percent of the GNP) and Latin America (45 percent). The currency expense of the African nations for paying this debt is increasing rapidly. It has jumped from 11 billion dollars in 1980 to almost 20 billion in 1986. In 1986-87 the countries of sub-Saharan Africa evidently paid creditors no less than 30 billion dollars (precise data are still lacking)—rife with further marked curtailments of productive imports—on which the realization of capital-investment programs that have been put in motion depend by almost 40 percent.

We can assume that if the international community does not take the most radical steps, the debt noose is in danger of strangling even the modest dreams of the Africans for economic and, consequently, social development.

Under these conditions, the former strategy of settling the indebtedness on the basis of recommendations by the International Monetary Fund has not worked, since a policy of strict economy lies at its foundation. In practice this line has doomed the population of the poor African countries to additional economic deprivations and a drop in the standard of living. Financial strictness has thereby engendered cruelty in relation to the have-nots. And this has in turn strengthened the social instability of many developing countries.

[Glushchenko] What are, in your opinion, the principal difficulties in the development of economic ties between the USSR and Africa?

[Gromyko] It should be noted first and foremost that the development of trade and economic relations between the USSR and the African countries is based on the fundamental positions of the CPSU and the Soviet government. The new edition of the CPSU Program that was adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress says, "The CPSU favors the just struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and the yoke of the multinational corporations and for the affirmation of their sovereign right to dispose of their own resources, the restructuring of international relations on an equal democratic basis, the creation of a new world economic order and getting rid of the debt cabal foisted by the imperialists." This declaration contains both a summary of past experience and program directives for the future.

Trade and other economic ties between the Soviet Union and the African countries have developed at a more or less satisfactory rate, but the volume is inadequate. I will

cite just two figures: trade turnover between the countries of Africa and our country totaled 300 million rubles in 1960, while it surpassed 2 billion rubles in 1988. The progress here is clearly evident, but this is not a level that would satisfy both parties in the future. The partners, as a rule, offer most-favored-nation status to each other, conduct their affairs on the basis of world prices and carry out their transactions in freely convertible currency. We do not therein claim the privileges that the African countries are offering, say, in trade with their neighbors and other developing nations, but for our part we offer them certain privileges, for example, the deferral of payments.

The Soviet Union maintains most active economic ties with five countries on the continent. They are Libya, Egypt, Algeria, Ethiopia and Angola. Some 70 percent of Soviet trade turnover with Africa falls to the share of those countries. We ship an exceedingly broad product line of finished products to the countries of the continent. Soviet aircraft and helicopters have long been flying in the skies of Africa, you can see Soviet passenger cars and trucks on the roads, machine tools from the USSR with the most diverse purposes have been offered in various types of production, and Soviet electrical appliances and radio technology are in household use on the continent. In countries that use Soviet technology, a system of service centers has been created. Skilled specialists come from the USSR to help install, adjust and operate our machinery and equipment.

Africa in turn supplies us with types of raw materials and agricultural output that are not produced or cultivated at the middle latitudes. It is moreover not only raw materials and the output of tropical cultivation, but also intermediate products and finished consumer goods. We import large volumes of various ores, valuable tropical timber, citrus products, cocoa-beans, coffee beans, furniture, perfumes and clothing. Imports from the African countries today supply 90 percent of the needs of the Soviet Union for tropical lumber, 60 percent of cocoa and coffee, 50 percent of bauxite, 50 percent of manganese etc.

Taking into account the specific nature and grave financial situation of the countries on the continent, and especially the skimpiness of their currency reserves, the USSR offers Africa various mutually advantageous forms of economic collaboration. Our foreign-trade organizations are developing long-term programs for mutual trade exchange in conjunction with our African partners, expanding trade deals and constructing enterprises and agricultural complexes on a compensated basis.

The latter form of collaboration is especially fruitful, insofar as it permits the achievement of several aims. One example is the bauxite combine in Guinea, built with the technical assistance of the Soviet Union. First of all, it makes it possible to increase the employment of the local population and, second, it has significantly expanded the capabilities of Guinean export. The Soviets are planning to procure some 90 percent of the

bauxite produced over the course of operation of the mine, which will ensure the steady operation of that enterprise. The Soviet credits, thanks to which the construction of the combine was possible, will be paid off through deliveries of the bauxite being produced. Some 50 percent of the combine's output is being exported to the USSR to pay off the credit, 40 percent we buy and the remaining 10 percent is sold by the Guineans at their own discretion.

It would seem that the trade and economic ties of the USSR and Africa are developing in normal fashion, but their volume is nonetheless exceedingly small: the share of the USSR in the imports of the African countries today comprises about 2.7 percent, and about 2.9 percent in exports. The share of African countries in the trade turnover of the USSR is even less: 1.1 percent in exports and about 1.6 percent in imports.

The reasons for this situation are diverse. They should be sought first and foremost in African history and the colonial past of the continent.

Even after the achievement of independence, the foreign-trade ties of the African countries have remained oriented toward the former mother countries. The equipment and machinery that remained on African soil after the departure of the colonizers was in need of replenishment with spare parts that could only be obtained, for example, in England, France or Belgium. The renewal of the machine-tool inventory also depended on the former colonial powers, insofar as the technical and other standards introduced into Africa by those same countries were preserved. Other standards had been adopted in the USSR along with a different system of measurement. That is one of the obstacles to collaboration.

Our economic collaboration with Africa is also seriously complicated by the political instability that is so typical of many of the countries on the continent. Military coups frequently disrupt the normal development of business activity and have a marked influence on the foreign policy of the African countries.

Difficulties arise associated with the specific features of the large-scale Soviet state economy. Our organizations and agencies traditionally prefer to implement large and expensive projects and to deal with the state sector abroad. And that is just what is being reduced in Africa. The re-privatization of state enterprises is also occurring. And not only in the capitalist-oriented countries. The private sector is growing in Africa, and hundreds of medium and small firms are arising (and sometimes also going bust) that can permit themselves only the construction and operation of small production facilities and the procurement of small lots of goods, all the while in acute need of foreign currency.

Mutual relations with such partners requires especial flexibility, painstakingness, persistence and skillful advertising work, which are not always characteristic of our foreign-economic organizations. We will have to learn all of this, the same way as we will have to learn to

operate under the conditions of harsh competition, which is becoming sharper and sharper in the world market each year. And Africa is not some abundant preserve free of economic rivalry.

The policy of creating joint ventures under whose wings would be assembled the experience of both Soviet and African workers and specialists would be an extremely promising form of Soviet-African collaboration under these conditions. The cooperatives that are arising here could possess the necessary qualities for dealing with African partners. If, of course, these are unions of "civilized cooperators," the appearance of which was hoped for at one time by V.I. Lenin.

It will not, of course, be easy to establish stable relations with Africa. Experience and knowledge of its specific nature are needed. Also essential are Soviet socialist capital, banks and joint ventures that would make Soviet-African collaboration mutually advantageous. But people who know this business are needed first and foremost. If there are none, they must be trained. Provide them with trust and opportunities, and then everything will go as it should.

[Glushchenko] You have been to Africa many times, traveling across the continent and observing Soviet people in their mutual relations with Africans. What can you say about those relations and about our people operating under the difficult specific conditions of Africa?

[Gromyko] Honestly speaking, I don't know any people that doesn't love to convince itself and others of how much it respects other peoples and how communicable and accessible it is itself. We are no exception in this regard. But our people abroad, including in Africa, are not communicable enough. An ignorance of local languages and customs, even of laws, and a certain incomprehensible restraint are frequently also hindrances.

I feel that it is intolerable for a Soviet person working abroad to lack inquisitiveness and a businesslike nature. It is inexcusable to exclude business people—people with an extremely distinct mentality, cheerful and sociable—from suitable partners of Africans. We must learn to trade with all. We are striving, after all, to establish constructive collaboration on a planetary scale.

One can also not ignore the process of mutual penetration and interaction of cultures. Only active participation in that process can help to create a truly strong fabric of international relations, including economic relations. We must not only know and respect each other, but also raise Soviet-African business relations to a new level.

In speaking of Soviet people working on African soil, I would recall first and foremost our physicians. These are truly zealous intellectuals, selflessly fulfilling their human and professional duty. That is who among Soviet people really enjoys respect among the Africans. If we were to collect the recollections of our doctors working in

Africa and the testimonials to their activity of Africans, we would have an impressive book.

[Glushchenko] What comprehensive expeditions could be directed to Africa? How does the Soviet-Ethiopian expedition look to you? What could it be engaged in?

[Gromyko] First off I would like to tell you that we are already at the stage of practical study. This is an integrated Soviet-Ethiopian historical and ethno-sociological expedition which will evidently set to work in 1990.

The work of the expedition is planned in three areas, each of which will occupy a separate detachment: 1) historical and archaeological; 2) ethno-sociological; and 3) social, economic and political.

1. The group for the study of historical and archaeological problems will conduct operations in three regions:

a) in the northern and north-central regions (presumably Axum-Mekili-Asmara). An alternative version is the area of Lake Rudolf (Gamu-Gofa).

The reconnoitring and selection of sites for excavations, as well as the execution of archaeological operations, possibly with the involvement of French archaeologists working in Ethiopia as consultants, is being proposed. The aim of the operations is to uncover new material on the ancient and very ancient history of the country, including the Sabine and pre-Axum periods.

b) in the southwestern regions (the provinces of Wollaga, Ilubabor and Kaffa).

Here the task consists of performing reconnoitring for the purpose of uncovering ancient mines in which gold and other metals were produced.

2. The group for studying the ethno-sociological problems will be engaged in conducting research in rural terrain and in the cities. The goal is the study of ethno-denominational processes and the formation of the social consciousness of various classes and social segments of the population in the city and the village. It is planned to conduct the study of ethno-denominational processes in regions of new settlements, where the inhabitants of the drought-stricken zones have settled in massive fashion, and in the regions where large amalgamated villages have been created in place of small ones, as well as in nomadic regions.

The second chief task of this group is a study of the social structure of contemporary Ethiopia for the purpose of analyzing the correlation of the principal classes and major social groups of society, their positions in the system of productive relations and in the political organization of society and the formation of the socio-political consciousness.

The study of the social position of the rural population, social relations in the village, the living conditions of the peasants in the petty-commodity and semi-subsistence

economies, communes of various types and levels, cooperatives, state farms, amalgamated villages and new settlements is being proposed. Research is projected on the attitude of the peasant toward the technological changes and toward the administrative and organizational restructuring under the revolutionary regime, the socio-psychological consequences of agrarian reform and the social problems of employment in the village; the substance and specific features of urbanization and the social structure of cities of various types; questions of the formation of the working class, the specific features of the position and role of the petty bourgeoisie in the city and the white-collar, intelligentsia and marginal segments.

3. The group for the study of social, economic and political problems faces the task of studying the economic and social policies of the NDRE [People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia] and the state and prospects of the development of the country and collaboration with the USSR.

Research is projected on the nature and methods of implementation, as well as the perception and consequences, of the socio-economic transformations in the course of the revolution; the state, trends and prospects for the development of the state, joint, cooperative and private sectors; the nature, methods, possibilities, limits and prospects for planning under the conditions of a socialist-oriented country; ecological problems, especially the problems of drought and its consequences, ways of averting catastrophic droughts and overcoming the consequences of them; the problems, methods, opportunities and prospects for industrialization; the experience, possibilities and prospects for expanding and deepening Soviet-Ethiopian economic collaboration; the problems of collaboration with the nations of the socialist community and the countries of the West; the nature, trends and prospects for cultural revolution; the means and methods of political education of the masses; the history of the formation, nature and directions of activity of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia; and, the evolution of the political structure of Ethiopian society.

The work of groups 2 and 3 of scholars is planned for the regions of Addis Ababa (Shoa), Akaki (Shoa), Debra-Zeyt (Shoa), Yanager Gutyn and Finchaa (Wallaga), Kombolcha (Haregre), Dire Dawa, Assab, Ambo, Melke-Wakan (Bale), Bahir Dar, Gondar, Gojam, Moyale and Mega (Sidamo), at institutions, enterprises, state farms, cooperatives, villages, communes, nomad camps and peasant associations.

It is being proposed that Soviet specialists working in Ethiopia be involved with the work of the expedition along with the Ethiopian scholars.

[Glushchenko] Still, to what must the collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute devote particular attention?

[Gromyko] A sharp turn toward basic and applied research based on the new political thinking is the supra-task in restructuring our institute in the coming



years. Speaking at the 43rd Session of the UN General Assembly, M.S. Gorbachev directed the attention of the world public toward the set of most complex problems faced by mankind today and the necessity of finding ways to solve them as fast as possible. This concerns both problems of the humanization and de-ideologization of international relations, the affirmation of the principle of freedom of choice by all people of their development path and the recognition of the multi-varied nature of it, and a regard for the worldwide ecological danger. He also emphasized that as a result of the improvement in Soviet-American relations, a fundamental turn is projected away from the principle of super-armament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency and the transition of the arms economy to an economy of disarmament on the basis of the conversion of military production.

With all the importance of the relations between East and West, on which a cessation of the arms race and the elimination of the nuclear danger depend first and foremost, these relations naturally cannot screen all the diversity of the contemporary world and all of its contradictions. It is namely for that reason that M.S. Gorbachev devoted particular attention to the problems of the Third World and their influence on world politics. The question of the necessity of the fastest possible surmounting of the debt crisis and the internationalization of approaches to solving the problem of development is exceptionally important. As the Soviet leader noted in his speech to the delegates at the 43rd Session of the UN General Assembly, "this is truly a universal human problem. The conditions of existence that tens of millions of people are in in a number of regions of the Third World are becoming simply dangerous for all of mankind. If we really want to do business in humane fashion in the world arena, we cannot remain indifferent to the problems of the developing countries."

[Glushchenko] What ideas occupy you now? What are you working on as an author?

[Gromyko] I don't want to reveal my plans. I can talk only about a work I completed quite recently. This is the somewhat unconventional genre of a dialogue book called "Will the Earth-Dwellers Survive?" Its idea was conceived during the work on the Soviet-American book on the problems of the emergence of the new political thinking, "Breakthrough." I wanted to write a book with the participation of eminent scholars and politicians from various countries of the world in which the problem of the survival of mankind would be considered through the prism of the problems of the developing countries. A sample scenario of a discussion including over 50 base questions was developed for that purpose. It was sent out, along with the proposal to participate in the joint work, to eminent scholars and public figures in the United States and Third World countries. Four of them replied: former president of Mexico Luis Echeverria, for U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert MacNamara, Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali and the American professor Richard Sklyar. The materials

they sent, along with that which I wrote, are at the foundation of our unique "roundtable" on the problems of the Third World.

The principal theme of my academic interests today is how to disarm the "backwardness bomb" that is—along with the nuclear bomb and potential ecological catastrophe—fraught with danger for all of mankind.

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### New Models for Development of Socialist Orientation Needed

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[Article by G.A. Krylova under the rubric "Socialist Orientation: Reality and Theory": "National-Democratic Revolution in Light of the New Political Thinking (Using the Example of Ethiopia)"]

[Text] *The Soviet model has long been considered the standard and has had an enormous influence, not only on the socialist countries, but also on a whole series of states that have declared their choice of a non-capitalist path of development. Practice shows, however, that attempts to reproduce our model under the conditions of the Afro-Asian countries sometimes lead to most severe consequences. This was candidly declared by the Vietnamese communists at the 6th CPV Congress (December 1986). A multitude of features in our press concerning the problems of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and other Central Asian republics are forcing us to think about what costs are associated with society bypassing certain stages in its development and to evaluate what has been achieved in sober and critical fashion.*

The Ethiopian revolution is a classic version of a national-democratic revolution in the zone of the national-liberation movement. What are the grounds for this assertion?

First of all, it was carried out as a clearly expressed social revolution. A monarchical regime was overthrown and feudal relations dissolved as the result of it, and power moved into the hands of revolutionary-democratic forces in the person of the military, representing first and foremost the middle-class urban segments, as well as the peasant masses.

Second, the Ethiopian revolution took on a genuinely popular nature at once. The Ethiopian revolution, as opposed to a number of other national-democratic revolutions, was not a "revolution from above," but a "revolution from below." The radically inclined intelligentsia, the army, the lower urban classes and the peasantry came out against the feudal-monarchical regime. The unique nature of Ethiopia among African countries consists of the fact that social-class relations within the framework of a feudal society had reached a high level of

development within it and that the polarization of political forces was distinguished by exceptional expressiveness. It is namely thanks to the broad social base that the revolution took on a lasting nature.

Third, the Ethiopian revolution was typified by a quite high level of political maturity of the leading forces. The military that headed the revolution, although lacking a definite socio-political orientation in the initial period of the revolution, recognized the necessity of preserving the former political and socio-economic structure to the extent of the development of the revolutionary process and under the influence of many factors. It would seem that they did not have sufficient political experience or ability to wage a complex political struggle for the purpose of dethroning the monarch in the eyes of the masses, a monarch who had traditionally enjoyed great influence, specially among the peasantry, and to isolate him. But that was accomplished, and moreover in a very short period of time.

Fourth, the Ethiopian revolution was distinguished by exceptional dynamism: in literally just a few months there were several delimitations of forces in the revolutionary camp. This is a typical feature of a true revolution—recall the words of F. Engels: “Such is the fate of all revolutions, that the unity of various classes, which will always to a certain extent be an essential precondition of any revolution, cannot continue for long. Victory is hardly won over the common enemy when the victors are already differing among themselves, forming various camps and turning their weapons against each other.”<sup>1</sup> This was, of course, the consequence of the acute social and class contradictions that had accumulated for years in Ethiopian society, which made themselves felt to the fullest in the course of the revolution, and the uncompromising and merciless nature of the revolutionaries not only toward their ideological adversaries, but also toward those who were essentially on the same side of the barricades as them. One also naturally cannot dismiss the rivalry of leaders, especially in extreme circumstances. This struggle sometimes took on extremely cruel forms in the face of an absence of traditions of political democracy and the undeveloped nature of political culture as such.

The study of the development of national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia is very important in answering the question of the fate of such revolutions in principle. Can a national-democratic revolution in a backward country be transformed into a socialist one or, despite all of its radicalism and the Marxist banners under which it was often unfurled, can it only play the role of accelerator of transformations of a bourgeois-democratic nature at the contemporary stage of worldwide development and with today's correlation of forces between the two social systems? Recall the start of the national-democratic revolutions in Burma and Egypt, Syria and Iraq, as well as a number of other countries—unrealized hopes for the rapid creation of the preconditions for socialist-oriented development are, after all, linked with them as well.

It is of course possible to object that in countries like Egypt and Iraq, powerful social forces oriented toward capitalism arose on the path of development of national-democratic revolution, and it was namely those forces that decided the issue of the direction of social progress. The leaders of the revolution moreover did not display the proper consistency in the struggle for the socialist choice and avoided relying on the broad mass of workers. In Ethiopia, on the contrary, the pro-capitalist forces were weak, while the leaders of the revolution had long declared their adherence to the ideas of scientific socialism. It should be taken into account, however, that the capabilities of this or that revolution are linked with objective factors as well as subjective ones, and with external preconditions as well as internal ones. The type of revolution is ultimately defined by the level of formational maturity of this or that society.

After the “first-generation” socialist-oriented countries did not display any real successes on the path of radical transformations of society, many researchers assumed that revolutionary Ethiopia, thanks to the high degree of political maturity of the leaders and the social activeness of the masses, would be able to become a real example of progressive social development for the African states. This enthusiasm soon waned, however, and many of yesterday's worshippers of the Ethiopian revolution have begun to emphasize the strengthening of negative trends in it.

In explaining this they usually refer to the difficulties typical of the development of liberated countries in general, the more so for the development of socialist-oriented countries: the process of re-orientation from the capitalist to the non-capitalist track of economic operation is itself complex, the pressure of world capitalism—with which economic ties are preserved—is great, local reactionaries offer strong resistance to the revolution, there are not enough trained personnel, climatic factors have proven to be unfavorable etc. All of this is true. It is also obvious that the progress of the least developed states effectively cannot be achieved without serious assistance from without. But the capabilities of the socialist countries are limited in this regard, and even the countries on the non-capitalist development path are basically oriented toward Western aid. Ethiopia covers over 80 percent of its needs for the foreign financial and material resources that are utilized for economic development from the developed capitalist countries and international financial and monetary organizations.<sup>2</sup> It needs—and moreover in the form of free aid—hundreds of thousands of tons of grain so as to save millions of people from starvation when the next drought comes—we ourselves, as is well known, procure grain from the capitalist countries. Such a situation hardly facilitates socialist-oriented development, and the Western states, of course, do not wish to assist the construction of socialism in this or that backward country.

And that is not the entire matter anyway. The roots of the failures lie, it seems to me, in the lack of clear

conceptions of the possible paths and methods of transformation. A fundamentally new concept of the transition of backward countries to socialism is needed that takes into account the real contradictions and the unsystematic nature of political and economic development. Practice shows that it is impossible to take Marxism-Leninism—a teaching formulated basically in the second half of the last century and the beginning of this one in the countries of Europe—and utilize it directly in the liberated countries with a regard for their specific national conditions. A creative approach to scientific socialism is needed, the refraction of this teaching through the prism of specific socio-economic and socio-historical analysis; the discussion should essentially be conducted on creating an original model of non-capitalist transformation of the developing countries on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Is it possible, without resolving general democratic and general national tasks, and first and foremost the most acute problems of nation-building, to be engaged in the implementation of profound social transformations for which the objective conditions have not been created? A dogmatic approach toward Marxism-Leninism, the administrative-command and bureaucratic model of socialism that came to be considered as practically the standard, is to blame for the fact that the leaders of a number of socialist countries have acted in exactly that manner. The strategy recommended in accordance with that model is well known: establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, create a Marxist-Leninist party, nationalize the means of production, industrialize and develop production cooperation. The unsuitability of this strategy under the conditions of backward countries, however, is becoming more and more obvious to the extent of the development of revolution; difficulties are growing rapidly; hasty transformations are leading to the appearance of socio-economic crisis. We will consider how that happened using the specific example of Ethiopia.

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The first developed program document of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC)—the 20 Dec 74 declaration that posed the tasks of the anti-feudal bourgeois-democratic revolution—was permeated with the ideas of social justice and the creation of a modern and economically developed and unified nation. A left wing gradually took shape in the ranks of the council that united the most radically inclined figures in it. There was an evolution of the views of the PMAC members; the fight among them did not cease; the correlation of forces within the leadership was altered in favor of the revolutionary democrats, who favored a non-capitalist path of development. The logic of the revolutionary struggle predetermined the implementation of serious social measures. The advocates of radical socio-economic and political changes were victorious.

Any government coming to power in the country would inevitably run up against the necessity of solving the

agrarian problem. The PMAC, in implementing profound agrarian reforms and declaring the land to be "the collective property of the Ethiopian people,"<sup>3</sup> was counting on not only achieving a rise in agriculture, but also on attracting the many million peasants to the side of the revolution, thereby creating solid social support for itself. The agrarian transformations weakened the counter-revolution, since they undermined the basis of the economic might of the aristocracy—feudal landowning. The property of the imperial family and high officials was nationalized. The fight against the bourgeoisie, which despite its weakness and lack of political organization was a support for potential opposition, dictated the necessity of the state nationalizing and taking control of all major and medium-sized private enterprises. The ethnic and denominational problems facing the country were exceedingly complex and painful. Separatist sentiments were widespread among national minorities, and separatist fronts were operating in a number of regions. This was associated with the incomplete nature of the process of state political consolidation and the policy of ethnic and religious discrimination against many nationalities practiced by the imperial regime. Taking advantage of revolutionary events, the separatist groups, both those operating before the revolution and those that were created after the revolutionary coup, became more active.

The social orientation of the PMAC incited the execution of profound social changes. The PMAC gave ideological substantiation for its activity, advancing the program of Ethiopian socialism.

The ideological potential already possessed by the progressive portion of the intelligentsia was utilized therein: the military would have been unable to create revolutionary theory so quickly without it.

There was a certain "pluralism" in revolutionary ideology in the first years after the revolution. This was associated with the rapid development of the revolution, the constantly shifting correlation of class forces, the complex and often extremely dramatic searches for ideological grounding for the transformations and the incomplete nature of the process of forming an official ideopolitical platform. The proclamation of socialism as the leading theory for the development of the country created favorable conditions for the study, dissemination and translation of Marxist-Leninist literature into local languages.

The revolution and the proclamation of its agrarian reforms awakened the political activeness of the peasantry. Peasant associations were formed in the country. The social roots of the old social consciousness were undermined, and the way was opened up to further progressive ideopolitical evolution. One distinguishing feature of this period of the revolution was the unity of broad segments of the population in the fight against the feudal regime of Haile Selassie.

All of this provided grounds for both Soviet and foreign researchers to regard the events in Ethiopia not as a "conventional" coup, which have occurred in multitude in African countries, but as a revolution that opened up new prospects for the country. The well-known American political scientists and Africa scholars C. Legum and B. Lee thus wrote that "The destruction of the feudal system has opened the way for social development in one of the potentially richest countries of Africa."<sup>4</sup> "Notwithstanding the leading role of the army in the events in Ethiopia," emphasized the well-known Africa scholar M. Ottaway, "it would be a mistake to consider the changes in Ethiopia as just a coup as the result of which one authoritarian regime has replaced another... The reforms have struck an enormous blow against the social foundations of the landowner class."<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, a number of authors had a critical evaluation of the possibility of the rapid implementation of real radical changes in the agriculture of Ethiopia.<sup>6</sup> P. Brietzke, a witness to the revolutionary events in Ethiopia, very definitely described the agrarian reforms of the military government as an attempt by the new regime to establish absolute control over the peasantry. He felt, justly in my opinion, that a farm-type economy should be developed in the country to solve the agrarian problem.<sup>7</sup>

The belief that the dissolution of feudalism in and of itself would bring universal prosperity has grown weaker to the extent of the development of the revolution. Running into the real contradictions of Ethiopian society and difficulties of an economic and social nature, the revolutionaries were coming to the conclusion that they needed a system of views already proven by historical practice, a theory on the basis of which the radical transformation of the country, the activation of the popular masses and the creation of a broad social base for their own authority were possible.

The nationalist ideology of "Ethiopian socialism" could not become the foundation of the activity of the PMAC, at least for the reason that many of the nationalities living in the country, under the influence of the separatists, considered Ethiopia a colonial empire and the central government (Amharas predominated in it) as a government of colonizers, while the military leadership was just seen as the continuers of the policies of Haile Selassie on the national question. This was facilitated by the fact that in less than two years the Ethiopian revolutionary democrats had evolved in the direction of Marxism-Leninism and had declared that they accept the basic features of scientific socialism.

The Program of National-Democratic Revolution was adopted on 20 Apr 76. This document consolidated the conquests of the revolution and simultaneously projected the prospects for its further development. The national-democratic revolution was defined as an essential stage of the transition to socialism, in the course of which the problems of a radical restructuring of productive relations, economic development and a rise in the

living standard of the workers would be resolved. Socialism was proclaimed to be the "guiding principle of ideology."<sup>8</sup> The idea of creating a unified front under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class—the leading force of the national-democratic revolution—based on the ideological principles of scientific socialism was advanced. All of this was to prepare the conditions for the creation of a people's democratic state. A program was announced to grant all nationalities the right to self-determination within the framework of regional autonomy. Relying on Marxist-Leninist ideology, the military hoped not only to surmount economic backwardness quickly, but also to resolve the acute social, ethnic and denominational problems that remained as the legacy of the feudal-monarchical regime, making cohesive around itself the broad popular masses and consolidating central authority.

The notion that took shape among the leaders of the PMAC that Marxism was the key to the rapid solution of the problems of the Third World facilitated the acceptance of Marxist teachings without reservation as an official ideology and led to its dogmatization, the monopolization of social studies and the decisive rejection of any compromises both in the realm of ideology and in the realm of politics. The military found in Marxist-Leninist teachings a ready substantiation for the theory of the escalation of bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one and the developed concepts of class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, ways of resolving the national question and the like. The tenets of Marxism-Leninism were set forth in universally accessible and simplistic form. Many articles in the Ethiopian socio-political journal MESKEREM consisted of quote-unquote citations from V.I. Lenin with very sketchy commentary or were expositions of the corresponding paragraphs of textbooks on historical materialism. Turning to the works of I.V. Stalin and the "Brief Course in the History of the VKP(b) [All-Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)]" was not a rarity even in the 1980s. The leaders of the PMAC were attracted by the seeming harmony and clarity—outside of any connection with the level of overall civilizational, economic and cultural development of the country—of the concept of socialist orientation in the form it was treated in the works of Soviet social scientists; conclusions and judgments gleaned from them were also—in simplified form—set forth in Ethiopian literature.

It should also be taken into account that the development of friendly ties with the USSR impelled the Ethiopian leaders not only to the acceptance of the ideas of scientific socialism, but also to attempts to reproduce our path without reckoning all of its costs. The revolutionary democrats were impressed by the power of centralization, the administrative-command methods of economic management, authoritarian control, the absence of opposition or alternative ideological strains and the slogans that were often separate from life but worked toward internal consolidation that were in the model of socialism that took shape here in the 1930s.

The Ethiopian leadership devoted much attention to questions of authority, the formation of the party and raising the role of the state in the life of society. In striving to expand their support in the country, the PMAC made every effort to create a vanguard party whose theoretical foundation was to be scientific socialism. Assuming that Ethiopia had historical conditions for the appearance of a proletarian party, the dissemination of scientific socialism and the existence of a workers' and socialist movement, in February of 1977 the Ethiopian leaders advanced the idea of organizing a party via unifying five groups that were part of the Union of Marxist-Leninist Organizations of Ethiopia (UMLOE) that had accepted the Program of National-Democratic Revolution and supported the PMAC. This party, however, as M. and D. Ottaway noted not without grounds, became not so much an independent political force as it did a "true battlefield for the civilian and military factions opposing each other."<sup>9</sup>

Having realized by the beginning of 1979 that the approach to creating a party "by means of uniting various groups did not correspond to the objective realities of Ethiopia and had proved to be destructive,"<sup>10</sup> the revolutionaries found their own intrinsic and original way of creating a party. The Commission to Organize a Workers' Party of Ethiopia (COWPE)—a distinctive school in which its members obtained experience in party work, raised their theoretical preparation and themselves propagated the ideas of Marxism-Leninism—was formed by decree of the PMAC in December of 1979. COWPE committees were formed at various administrative levels, then the primary organizations were formed at enterprises and associations etc. The activity of the commission, initially a small group of the revolutionaries<sup>11</sup> most prepared in a theoretical and political regard and actually performing the role of a ruling party, prepared the soil for the formation of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE).

In naming their party, the Ethiopian leaders felt that its foundation should be comprised of the industrial workers. They could of course not fail to see that the industrial proletariat in the country by the founding congress of the WPE numbered just 105,000 people<sup>12</sup> and that it was very poorly organized. But they relied in their directives on the judgments, widely disseminated in Soviet literature, on the modern proletariat of the developing countries and its special properties and capabilities. How these opinions were interpreted in Ethiopia is shown, for example, by the following excerpt from an article in the journal MESKEREM. "It is obvious that the proletariat, oppressed and exploited by the imperialist monopolies and local exploiters, favors radical transformations. Notwithstanding their small numbers, they made an enormous contribution to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle... The proletariat in particular, even in its embryonic state, can play a far-reaching revolutionary role in the new era of revolutionary changes ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution."<sup>13</sup> Such conclusions were drawn in the

absence of any scientific research whatsoever in the country on the formation of the national proletariat (this process is far from complete), the degree of its maturity or the level of class consciousness. Assertions of the leading role of the Ethiopian working class in the revolutionary struggle remain purely speculative.

The leaders of revolutionary Ethiopia at once faced the necessity of solving the extremely complex, tangled and acute national question, which had grown worse since the revolution. Here the revolutionary democrats tried to turn to Soviet experience in solving national problems. The ideas of equality and friendship of peoples and the economic uplifting of backward countries attracted them first and foremost in this experience. The equality of all ethnic groups and denominations and their right to self-determination within the framework of regional autonomy in a unified democratic state were proclaimed. The leaders of the revolution, in emphasizing the interconnection of social and national problems, were indicating that the ultimate resolution of the national question was possible only with the successful building of a socialist society in the country. The presence of separatism is at the same time even today frequently explained just as the subversive activity of external forces in party documents and the statements of leaders.

Economic problems moved to the fore after the conflict with Somalia (1977-78) and the achievement of a temporary stability of the situation in the Eritrean theater of military operations with the rout of the counter-revolution. The Ethiopian revolutionary democrats felt that "there are no alternatives to the development of heavy industry and agriculture"<sup>14</sup> in the course of economic construction, and that it was namely that development that should become the principal substance of the transitional period to socialism. The proposed creation of heavy-industry enterprises would cause, in their opinion, a growth in the size and organizational level of the proletariat, while the "dependence of agriculture on industry reflects the interconnection of the working class and the peasants and support for the development of industry, emphasizing the vanguard role of the working class in the revolution."<sup>15</sup> Definite hopes were placed on the assistance of the socialist countries. One document in particular noted that "The rate of rapid social transformation of society is accelerated more and more thanks to the internationalist aid of the proletariat, as testified to by the ascent of Cuba, North Korea and Albania."<sup>16</sup>

At the end of 1978 the PMAC promulgated a decree on the creation of the Higher Council for Conducting the Nationwide Revolutionary Campaign of Development and Central Planning. This organ was called upon to develop and bring into being a plan to uplift the national economy on the basis of democratic centralism. The principal goals of the campaign were to increase the production of agricultural output, develop transport and trade etc. Concrete plans and measures were not developed, however, and many provisions of the decree were of a declamatory nature. Only in 1982 was a preliminary



draft of a long-term plan of economic and social development for the country for 1984-93 approved. The focus shifted more and more to the realm of agriculture, and the task of creating a heavy industry was posed just as a long-term one, since there simply were not the funds to set about its realization in a short time. This document, however, also did not provide the material capabilities for realizing the projected programs.

The completion of the formation of peasant associations uniting about 5 million farms and the organization of supply and sales cooperatives by some of the associations basically by 1978 provided grounds for the PMAC leadership to conclude that the peasantry was ready for production cooperation. The decree "Assistance in the Creation of Cooperatives" was published on 3 Mar 78, according to which cooperation was envisaged as "an essential and most important task of the revolution"; PMAC directives on the organization of production cooperatives were published on 23 Jun 79. The goals of cooperation, according to those documents, were eliminating all forms of capitalist exploitation and averting the restoration of capitalist relations in the village, eliminating the poverty and ignorance of the peasants, transforming peasant labor into a form of industrial labor, reinforcing the ties between the city and the village and the planned leadership of agriculture. The cooperatives were to be created "under the leadership of the poorest peasants in union with the middle-class ones."<sup>17</sup>

The realization of that plan, however, was impeded by a number of factors. The experience of the organizational construction of kolkhozes in the USSR doubtless had an effect on the theory and practice of production cooperation.<sup>18</sup> Recommendations contained in much of the research and many of the documents of the 1970s—when all forms of collectivization in agriculture regardless of their economic expediency were equated with socialist transformations and were considered to be historically progressive—that were dogmatic in nature were accepted uncritically. And that justified, in the opinion of the transformers, the broad-scale coercion of the peasants into the process of creating amalgamated farms. The experience of such transformations in a number of other African countries was clearly not sufficiently analyzed. All of this testified to the superficiality of the approach to the specific situation in Ethiopia and the lack of a profound interpretation of actual reality. Not only the degree of readiness of the peasantry for production cooperation, but also the possibility of the state rendering material support to cooperation were clearly exaggerated. The peasants preferred traditional methods of farming and had a skeptical attitude toward collective forms of labor. The proclaimed principle of voluntary entry into cooperatives was reduced to naught by the provision that in the event of departure or expulsion from the cooperatives, the land, agricultural implements and entry fee were not returned to the peasant, and compensation was paid only if it was felt needed by the cooperative. The process of cooperation

was restrained by the paucity of material and financial resources, shortages of agricultural equipment and consumer goods etc.

A collectivization of peasant farms based on economic principles and a transition from petty commodity farming (the Ethiopian peasants still had to "grow up" to that level—cultivation in the country was conducted by traditional methods using primitive implements, and the output of peasant farms, as a rule, was consumed at the site and went to market only in extremely limited quantities and irregularly) to large social production, in which the leaders of the PMAC saw a way of eliminating the backwardness of the village, was scarcely objectively possible in Ethiopia.

The nationalization of industrial enterprises, attempts to collectivize peasant farms and at production cooperation in the absence of the material and other preconditions for it, administrativeness in the villages and the unrealistic programs, on the one hand, and the losses as the result of combat operations with Somalia and the separatist fronts, on the other, led to the stagnation of the national economy. Even though this facilitated more realistic evaluations of the development prospects of the country and an awareness that "the very existence and development of the revolution will depend on how the material and spiritual aspirations of the workers are satisfied,"<sup>19</sup> the resolution of urgent tasks was underestimated. The focus in program documents and propaganda was placed as before on the superiority of socialism over capitalism as understood in literal and extremely simplistic fashion.

The creation of a vanguard party was declared at the founding congress of the WPE in 1984, and its program and charter were adopted. The strategic goal of the WPE was announced as the building of socialism and then communism. The party was described as the organizer and political leader of this process, and Marxism-Leninism was proclaimed to be its ideological foundation. The program affirmed the policy of priority development of cooperation and the state sector in industry (thus, by 1994 about 53 percent of the rural population should be organized in production cooperatives), and the task of getting out of the world capitalist market system and creating an economy "based on the interdependence of its constituent elements" was posed. The creation of a people's democratic republic whose foundation should be comprised of a union of workers and peasants acting in collaboration with the intelligentsia, army, tradesmen and white-collar workers supporting the ideas of the revolution was proclaimed the paramount task of the revolution. The achievement of this union, in the opinion of the authors of the document, would open up the possibility of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.<sup>20</sup>

The congress also adopted the Guidelines for the Socio-Economic Development of Ethiopia (1984/85-1993/94), in accordance with which a 10-year plan was developed

and approved, and it also spoke of the gradual displacement of small-scale commodity production and an expansion of the positions of state and collective ownership. Some 44.5 percent of the essential investments were proposed to be received from abroad in the form of loans, credits and free aid,<sup>21</sup> which made the fulfillment of the plan closely dependent on the possibility of attracting and utilizing foreign resources.

The formation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PDRE) was proclaimed and a constitution adopted at the founding session of the National Assembly in September of 1987. The concept of regional autonomy was detailed and incarnated in accordance with the constitution—five autonomous provinces were created whose elected assemblies were to implement local self-rule. An administrative and territorial restructuring was carried out and 30 provinces were formed in place of 14, but a neglect for the national factor in pursuing the reforms led to the fact that the ethnic groups populating the country were even more fragmented by the new administrative boundaries, and that will hardly facilitate the resolution of the national question. It is also obvious that the president enjoys powers just as broad as the chairman of the PMAC had before, and his real power is based not so much on the written law—which by Ethiopian tradition is read and glorified but frequently circumvented with surprising ease—as it is on prevailing political practice.

Despite all of the achievements planned in the party documents, the Ethiopian leaders have not yet been able to come even close to solving the problems of economic development, national integration, a rise in the standard of living of the masses or their real inclusion in the political process. The collectivization of the means of production actually was reduced to announcing that the land is "collective property" and the nationalization of industry. The country is experiencing an economic crisis. The hasty and largely formalistic production cooperation, not backed up by the corresponding material conditions, the forced resettlement of the peasants in the large settlements being created, the reliance on economic incentives for production and material vested interest and on political and administrative actions have all led to the destruction of the normal economic activity of millions of peasants and the constant threat of hunger.

In the face of the scant resources at the disposal of the Ethiopian state, it will hardly be possible to pursue a revolution in a few years in a way of life of the peasantry, forms of economic operation and methods of cultivating the land that took shape over centuries.

A drop in production as an element of radical transformations affecting the relations of ownership of the means of production is to a certain extent natural. The exceedingly unfavorable ecological climate should be taken into account, as should the fact that the territory of many provinces has become a theater of constant military operations. There is no doubt, however, that the

crisis in agriculture is not least of all the fruit of the methods of operational economic activity adopted by the authorities.

The state sector in industry is unprofitable. Such major prestige facilities as the tractor-assembly plant at Nazret and the hydroelectric power plant at Melka-Wakan are not having the anticipated economic impact for a number of reasons. The material capabilities of the state and the lack of funds and resources are frequently ignored in the posing of concrete economic tasks. The wager is frequently placed on foreigneconomic and administrative methods rather than on the widespread utilization of methods of money-exchange relations and financial regulation in determining the strategy of economic development.

The economic and social crisis, the danger of millions of people perishing from starvation, the formation of a political system under which the people are effectively alienated from decision-making and the prolonged and unsuccessful war against separatism are creating fertile ground for opposition activities. The successes or failures of government policies, especially in the realm of agriculture, moreover have an immediate effect on its activeness. In 1978 the country was able, on a wave of mass enthusiasm and popular support for PMAC policies, not only to win successes in the war with Somalia, but also to smash the force of the counter-revolution first and foremost because the destruction of the feudal system, the granting of land to the peasants and hopes for social justice, development and progress were linked with the military leadership. The failure of the separatist fronts to accept the government concept of regional autonomy and the PMAC's refusal to seek other political solutions and their wager on pressuring the separatists with military force have led to a protracted war of attrition that has become an unbearable burden for the economy, not to mention the considerable human victims and destroyed economy of the provinces where military operations were conducted. According to some data, over 50 percent of the state budget goes for military purposes.<sup>22</sup> What economy can withstand such enormous expenses for a long time?

These circumstances, combined with the unfavorable results of the economic activity of the revolutionary regime, have led to a narrowing of its social base and, on the contrary, a broadening of the base of separatist organizations, as well as the resurrection of opposition forces that have declared that they represent nationwide interests. Such organizations as the Ethiopian Popular Revolutionary Front (EPRF) and the United Democratic Front of Ethiopia (UDFE) are operating in a number of provinces with a predominantly Amharic population under the slogan of uniting all the peoples of the country for the purpose of overthrowing the ruling regime. The declaration by the Ethiopian government in May of 1988, i.e. in the fourteenth year of the revolution, of a universal mobilization in the absence of aggression from without testifies to the serious crisis the country is

experiencing and to the fact that the country's revolutionary leaders have not been able to solve problems of paramount significance, including those associated with the building of a nation-state.

It seems that the Ethiopian society is close to a situation that was discussed by the classical authors of scientific socialism: any day now, the revolutionaries will face the fact that the "revolution *that was made* is quite different from the one they wanted to make."<sup>23</sup> They will have to make a choice—either follow the course they have declared, relying on coercion, or, recognizing the contradictions that have arisen, correct that course. In the first version, however, which does not provide for the successful development of the economy, such a "social need" could arise that any attempt to suppress it violently could "just force it to act with growing force."<sup>24</sup>

Of course the Ethiopian leaders, convinced of their political correctness and striving to retain power, have greater capabilities for asserting their will, although that is also associated with significant human victims. It seems, however, that life itself is forcing them to reject the stereotypes of administrative thinking, reconsider the dogmatic notions of socialism and seek in particular political means of resolving the national question. The political system cannot develop successfully apart from the economic situation. An awareness that it is impossible to achieve the goals of socio-economic development while guided by the old conceptual approach, that the solution of many problems—including the national one—lies in the inner development of the country's economy and a real rise in the welfare of the people is an exceedingly difficult and painful process. But corrections in the socio-economic and ideo-political development of the state from above (and possibly from below) are inevitable. The first evidence of this already exists: the limited transformations in the realm of agriculture aimed at raising food production, along with the steps to make trade more active, whose pursuit was announced in December of 1987, as well as the interest shown in the transformations in the PRC during the visit of Mengistu Haile Mariam to that country in June of 1988.

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The experience of Ethiopia, it seems to me, testifies to the necessity of overcoming abstract and unilateral philosophical, political and economic models of social progress and their juxtaposition with the conditions of this or that country and a regard for the real contradictions and irregularities of the development of society and all of the complexities of socio-cultural phenomena, including specific national features and spiritual and cultural traditions. How could the accents be arranged in implementing revolutionary transformations in Ethiopia if the specific conditions of that country are not fully taken into account, i.e. the model for development and the advance toward socialism are devised not as a reflection of the Soviet administrative-command model, but rather as a model, if it may be expressed thus, with a

specific Ethiopian nature, taking into account the political realities of society, the low level of development of the economy and the difficult set of ethnic and national problems? (One cannot fail to mention in this regard that the Chinese communists, in pursuing the reforms aimed at eliminating state-bureaucratic socialism that are of such enormous interest, are calling the society they are building "socialism with a specific Chinese nature.")

It seems that in such a case the principal emphasis—and moreover for a long time—would have to be placed on the pursuit of nationwide and universally democratic transformations. They are first of all a solution to ethnic and national relations, since without the elimination of ethnic conflicts the country's advance along the path of progressive transformations is made appreciably more difficult. Second, it is the problem of the democratization of society and the affirmation of democratic principles in social life—a process that is undoubtedly very difficult, contradictory and prolonged. But without its broad expansion, the building of socialism even in the remote future is impossible, since it will inevitably be pursued in distorted forms. Such, it must be acknowledged, is the experience of building socialism in the USSR, which was conducted under certain historical conditions on the basis of simplistic and sometimes even mistaken theoretical tenets and which led to the establishment of a regime of authoritarian power, the excessive shift of social life into the hands of the state and the affirmation of bureaucratic-command methods of leadership.

Third, the democratization of social life cannot be accomplished successfully without the democratization of social consciousness. Whence the importance of the policy figured for the steady ascent of the political awareness of the masses via their widespread involvement in society-transforming activity. Neither decrees, resolutions and directives nor an extensive network of party and political enlightenment are able to replace the immediate participation of the people in the creation of the new society.

Both the formation of a political party as the vanguard of society and the formation of its ideology, as well as the formation of a new party political system in general, cannot take place isolated from the processes of economic and social development of the country; on the contrary, they are most closely associated with economic successes and achievements in the emergence of a new social-class structure of society and the level of development of mass consciousness. As the experience of some other African countries—including Angola and Mozambique—shows, a rift between the political vanguard and the masses threatens most grave consequences for the revolution. The name "workers" in the absence of a formed working class can only testify to the party's intention to proceed from the interests of the proletariat and to become its party at some distant future time. The disruption of the synchrony of these processes leads to the fact that the party lives its own life, as it were, while the people have their own.

It must be noted that the Soviet model for building socialism cannot be deemed "standard" not only because it, as is well known, took shape under the influence of the anti-socialist and criminal acts of I.V. Stalin, practicing violence over the laws of economic development, and inflicted enormous harm on society and was connected with irreplaceable human sacrifice. There were also objective causes for the appearance of that model. It was largely a product of extreme circumstances: capitalist encirclement, the danger of foreign aggression, and the necessity of the accelerated development of heavy industry for the sake of creating a strong military potential. It should also be taken into account that our country possessed enormous human resources and unique natural wealth.

Under the conditions of the backward African countries, the Soviet model of industrialization should be approached with great caution, the more so an accelerated one and the more so relying on the creation of heavy industry. After all, the question of industrialization in Ghana under K. Nkruma and in a few other countries was also posed in namely this manner at one time by many Soviet political figures and scholars who not only did not object to it, but were rather delighted by the "grandiose plans."

Our experience in the collectivization of agriculture, as the result of which the peasantry was ravaged and the food problem was made more acute, is also in no way suitable under the conditions of the African countries (and it has nothing in common with social progress in general)—millions of people perished from starvation, while our nation was transformed from an exporter into a major importer of food.

It seems that in such countries as Ethiopia it is not possible to get by without a prolonged stage of the utmost development of money-exchange relations that can be controlled and regulated by the state and, consequently, the co-existence of anti-capitalist and pro-capitalist tendencies. Any attempts to block private business activity as such will not be successful, since they will simultaneously be blocking the development of productive forces and leading to the stagnation of society as well. The task consists of seeing that, while allowing the development of capitalism at the institutional level, its transformation into a system-forming institution is not permitted. The utmost development of the simplest forms of cooperation, as well as the development of joint forms of ownership, is clearly essential at the same time, since, as the experience of practically all of the African countries shows, the enterprises of the state sector most often operate unprofitably.

The socialist-oriented countries thus need their own strategy of transformations in both the basis and the superstructure (and it can be neither a reflection of an alien development model nor the result of the mechanical borrowing of these or those provisions of Marxism-Leninism), a strategy developed and implemented on the

basis of the profound assimilation and creative development of the most important provisions of universal Marxist-Leninist teachings with a regard for the realities of the Third World.

#### Footnotes

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4. C. Legum, B. Lee. Conflict in the Horn of Africa. N.Y., 1977, p 19.
5. M. Ottaway. Social Classes and Corporate Interests in the Ethiopian Revolution.—Journal of Modern African Studies. Vol. 14. London, 1987, No 3, pp 469, 480.
6. See, for example: J. Markakis. Anatomy of Traditional Policy. London, 1974; P. Gilkes. The Dying on. London, 1975.
7. P. Brietzke. Land Reform in Revolutionary Ethiopia.—Journal of Modern African Studies. Vol. 14, 1976, No 4, p 646; P. Brietzke, H. Sholler. Ethiopia: Revolution, Law and Politics. München, 1976, pp 8-81.
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11. According to data in the foreign press, 79 of the 93 initial members of the COWPE were servicemen (The Economist. 28 Nov 81, p 48).
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15. Ibid.
16. Tasks, Achievements, Problems and Prospects of the Ethiopian Revolution. Addis Ababa, 1977, p 34.
17. Statute on Production Peasant Cooperatives. Addis Ababa, 1979 (in Amharic).
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22. I. Smolowe, R. Wilkinson. Ethiopia. A New Communist State.—NEWSWEEK. 1984, No 39, p 23.

23. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works. Vol. 36, p 263.

24. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works. Vol. 8, p 6.

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### Scientific-Research Institutes in Libya

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[Article by M.F. Gataullin [deceased]: "Scientific-Research Centers in Libya\*"]

[Text] Scientific-research activity in the Arab countries, and in Libya in particular, is still in the stage of emergence, especially in the realm of the natural sciences. The 1st Arab Conference on Scientific Research and Development was held just in 1987 in Cairo, and was attended by about 700 scientists of the Arab Republic of Egypt, delegations from 6 Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, North Yemen, Qatar and Oman), and representatives of unofficial groups of researchers from many other Arab states. The conference discussed issues connected with the development of agriculture and the desertification of lands, the development of medicine, pharmacology and genetics, as well and petrochemistry, electronics and the study of space.<sup>1</sup> Some 1,245 scientists were engaged in research work in Libya in 1983, united in the National Administration for Scientific Research, and were conducting scientific inquiries in 33 areas in the realm of the natural and social sciences. The administration includes divisions for natural, medical, economic, agricultural, industrial and other research with their own centers, as well as autonomous scientific subdivisions: the Research Center for Solar Energy, the Institute for Arab Development, the Center for Applied Research and the Center for the Study of the Potential Capabilities of Libya in the Realm of Economic and Social Development.<sup>2</sup> The administration later became part of the People's Committee for Educational Affairs and Scientific Research. The People's Committee was comprised of two agencies in 1987: education and scientific research. The educational agency included the Scientific-Research Center for Methods and Means of Teaching and departments for general education, schools, cultural programs, religious schools and mosques, professional training, the organization of examinations, planning, finance and administration. The scientific-research agency included the subdivisions Center for the Study of Solar Energy, Institute for Arab Development, Industrial Research Center, Agricultural Research Center, Medical Research Center, Center for Petroleum Problems, Center for the Living World and

the Sea, Center for African Studies, the al-Jihad Center (holy war against foreign usurpers) and the Archaeology Administration.<sup>3</sup>

In 1986 the People's Committee for Educational Affairs and Scientific Research was transformed into a People's Secretariat which was given the task of cultivating a new revolutionary generation of Libyans in the spirit of so-called Third World theory and Arab unity. The secretariat was called upon to further the development of the technical and other sciences so as to bring the country out of a state of backwardness and dependence, as well as to protect the moral values of Arabs founded on principles of freedom and justice. The secretariat operates under the leadership of the General Libyan People's Congress; it approves textbooks and curricula along with scientific-research programs. There were 13 higher educational institutions and 5 universities operating under the guidance of the secretariat in 1987 with 34,469 students, as well as the aforementioned scientific-research centers. The Libyan Secretariat for Educational Affairs and Scientific Research signed an agreement for long-term scientific collaboration with the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1987. The creation of a Libyan Academy of Sciences based on the secretariat and the conversion of individual scientific centers such as the al-Jihad, Industrial Research Center and some laboratories into scientific-research institutes is being proposed for the future.

The al-Jihad Scientific-Research Center began functioning in 1977. Its curator is M. Qadhafi, and the center has been headed since its founding by the prominent historian Muhammad Tagir al-Jarrari. There were about 100 people working at the center in 1987, including 30 scientific associates whose chief tasks consisted of preparing the history of Libya as a constituent element of general Arab history. Especial attention in this work is being devoted to the struggle of the Libyan people against alien usurpers. The center has been collecting documents and materials for many years connected with the history of the national-liberation movement in the country. The section for oral history of veterans and witnesses of the liberation struggle has conducted some 996 interviews over 1978-84, and 350 teachers and instructors at various educational institutions took part in field research in 1979. The stories of about 6,000 fighters for the freedom and independence of Libya had been recorded by April 1987 as a result, and over 60,000 photographs relating to the years of struggle of the Libyans against alien usurpers had been collected.

The center is studying not only the history of Libya, but other Arab and African countries as well, particularly the countries of North Africa. Texts of agreements, treaties, laws, directives and other historical documents relating to the Italian period, as well as the many centuries of Ottoman occupation of Libya, including the archives of the local ruling Karamanli dynasty, have been collected in depositories. The scholars of the center take part in international congresses, conferences and symposia. They have taken part in particular in the National



Seminar in Tripoli on the question of source studies in the realm of Libyan history (1978), the 2nd Conference on the History of Arab Science (Haleb, Syria, 1979), the Turkish-Libyan seminar on problems in relations between the two countries (Ankara), a seminar devoted to caravan trade in Africa (Tripoli), an International Conference devoted to the Libyan September Revolution (Leipzig, 1969) and the national hero of Libya, Omar Mukhtar (Tripoli), in the seminar "Libya: History and Revolution" (Rome, 1981), the 3rd Scientific Conference "Ibn Haldun, His Era and Activity" (Tripoli), the seminar "World War II and the Damage Inflicted on the Libyan People" (Geneva), in the 4th Conference devoted to the 50th anniversary of the death of Libyan national hero Omar Mukhtar (Tripoli), in the conference "K. Ataturk and Ottoman-Turkish Officers in the Libyan Resistance Movement" (Tripoli) etc. The so-called "open club," at which prominent public, political and religious figures and the scholars of Libya and other Arab and African countries speak, operates at the al-Jihad Center. The most important economic and political problems of the contemporary world, questions of international law and antiwar problems are discussed there. A seminar was held in 1986 on questions of international law connected with the case of Libya against Italy and other states on the score of compensation for damages suffered by the country during the period of foreign occupation, as was a seminar in 1987 devoted to the heroic struggle of the Arab peoples of Algeria and Libya against imperialism in the 1950s and a seminar of the associates of the al-Jihad Center with staffers from the Libyan Central Bank and other practical organizations that discussed the question of the illegality, from the point of view of international law, of the freezing of Libyan bank deposits abroad since January 1986 in the United States, which is inflicting harm to the implementation of plans for the socio-economic development of Libya. The participants in the seminar favored the development of a unified Arab-wide policy of capital investment in the United States and the countries of Western Europe.

One of the principal tasks of the al-Jihad Center is publishing activity. The center publishes sources, memoirs, literature in translation and a bibliography on the history of Libya, Arabs and Africa, and it puts out a number of historical series: recollections of the veterans of the national-liberation movement, historical research in resistance to foreign occupation, the life and activity of public and political figures, the memoirs of Arab and foreign political figures and military leaders and research on the September Revolution of 1969. A large quantity of academic works prepared by associates at the center has been published in recent years.<sup>4</sup>

The center puts out periodicals—the journal MAJALLA AL-BUKHUS AT TARIHIYYA ("Historical Research") and the yearly ASH-SHAKHID ("The Martyr"), devoted to Libyan resistance to Italian occupation—and an annual anthology of materials from seminars and symposia. The editorial board of the journal "Historical

Research" includes prominent Libyan scholars, as well as professors from Haleb University (Syria) and universities in California and Philadelphia (United States).

One of the best scientific libraries in the country, numbering some 15,000 titles in Arabic (62,000 items) and 8,000 in foreign languages (55,000 items) in 1987, is in operation at the center. The library holds works by scholars of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other Soviet scholars in Russian and English, the Great Soviet Encyclopedia and some other publications. The library receives some 650 Arab and foreign periodicals with a total quantity of over 35,000 items. The library is trying to procure or microfilm all of the periodicals published in Libya, as well as books and articles devoted to various aspects of the life of Jamahir-iyya that are published abroad.

The Center for African Research in the city of Sebha (*Markaz al-Bukhis wal-Disarat al-Afrikiyya*) was organized in 1985 at a branch of the Tripoli al-Fatah University and was transformed into Sebha University that same year. The center is striving to unite the efforts of African scholars and intelligentsia to organize scientific-research work in the problems of African unity "based on the principles of freedom and socialism." The center faces the task of studying questions associated with the achievement of economic unity on the African continent, questions of African culture and the dissemination of the ideas of "Third World theory" among others. The tasks of the center also include studying questions of African language studies and assisting the dissemination of African languages. It has been granted the right to establish ties with other organizations and individuals in African countries and to conduct conferences, seminars, field research etc. The activity of the center is financed through the state budget, the sale of printed matter and charitable contributions. The center's work is headed by a secretary (director), section chiefs and three lead specialists on African problems. The director of the center is appointed for three years by decision of the People's Committee of the university. The first director of the Center for African Research was Professor Salim Muhammad al-Maalul. Nine academic associates were initially working at the center on the following problems: overcoming backwardness and problems in the integration of African countries, the penetration of Zionism into Africa, political parties in the Maghreb countries, and Africa and the United Nations. Other issues researched included an analysis of the situation in Senegal, the world press on apartheid in South Africa, the problems of the southern Sudan and Mauritania, the political struggle in Ethiopia, Namibia and the economic crisis in Uganda, and the military coup in Nigeria among others. The center has concluded an agreement with the Belgian Center for African Studies to prepare joint work on socio-economic and political transformations in the Maghreb countries. The center was headed by Professor Abulkasim Muhammad Kadikh, a specialist on Arab philology, in 1987. The center's staff numbers some 20 people; replenishment of the personnel is currently conducted principally through graduates of Sebha University.

The plan for the center's scientific-research activity for the next few years includes the development of problems in achieving food self-sufficiency on the African continent, creating a unified transport network, the role of the OAU in the life of the continent, Islam, population migration, the status of blacks, the settlement of the nomadic population, the state of the workforce, Arab-African relations, sub-regional economic and other associations and the expansion of imperialist cultures into African countries among others.

The "Green Book" International Center in Tripoli (*al-Markaz ad-daualiy lil Qitab al-akhdar*) was created at the beginning of the 1980s by resolution of the Libyan General People's Congress for the purpose of propagating the so-called "Third World theory" of social development. The center operates under the guidance of an Executive Committee—a council of scholars—in the work of which take part representatives of academic circles from almost all continents. The general director (secretary) of the center is Ibragim Abjad. The executive committee meets annually and resolves issues connected with holding international and regional meetings and conferences on problems set forth in the "Green Book," published in Libya in the 1970s. Meetings at the international level are held once every four years. The first international conference was held in 1983 at the Kara Yunes University in Benghazi, and the second in 1987 in Sebha, in which roughly 170 scholars from different countries took part (the Soviet Union was represented as an observer). The conference, which was held under the slogan "Freedom and Democracy," discussed political, economic and social aspects of "Third World theory," to wit: the struggle of individuals, parties and classes for power; the system of representation and the regime of direct popular rule; customs, mores, religions and their influence on politics; on the plane of economic theory, questions were discussed connected with the ownership, production and distribution of material goods; and, questions of the status of women and national minorities in the contemporary world, among others. The center maintains contacts with international organizations, and especially with UNESCO and national institutes and universities, as well as with more than 3,000 scholars and political figures around the world. The center has its own clubs in India, Sweden, Ghana, Sierra-Leone, Venezuela, Madagascar, the United States and other countries. The clubs discuss many issues in the social life of various peoples: "Problems of Population in the Contemporary World," "Religion and the Nation," "Courts under People's Power" etc. The discussion of the problems of the Libyan crisis and questions connected with the political parties and religious communities in India and the holding of seminars in the Philippines, Sudan and other countries is being planned.

The "Green Book" Center currently has departments for research, comparative analysis of civilizations, propaganda, conferences and meetings, archives, and administration and finance; the library archives number about 30,000 volumes on the social sciences. The center is

conducting research and publishing works in the series "Imperialism, Apartheid and Reaction," "Democracy," "Revolution," Nation," "Islam," "National Problems," "People's Power," "Revolutionary Committees," "Land Ownership," "Producers," "International Relations," "A New International Economic Order," "Stability and Resistance" and "The Woman in the Modern World" among others. The center's plans include rendering active assistance to foreign higher educational institutions in studying "Third World theory." A series of agreements have been concluded with European universities, as well as universities in Asia, Africa and Latin America, for this purpose.<sup>5</sup>

The center had published 18 volumes of appearances, speeches and articles by M. Qadhafi in the national documentation series by 1987. Translations of the "Green Book" have been published in 28 languages. The center has moreover published 136 books in Arabic, 96 in English, 47 in French, 50 in Spanish and 11 in Italian, as well as a number of books in Turkish, Portuguese, Persian and other languages, on the problems of "Third World theory."<sup>6</sup>

The Arab Development Institute (*Maakhad al-inma al-arabiy*)—an independent Arab scientific-research center—was created in Tripoli in 1974 with branches in Kuwait and Beirut, where the journal AL-FIKR AL-ARABIY ("Arab Thought") began to be published, along with the journal AL-MAJALLA AL-FIKR AL-ISTRATIJI AL-ARABI ("Arab Strategic Research") starting in 1981. The institute has been pursuing research in the realm of nuclear power, outer space and other topical problems in science and technology since 1982. The first issue of "Arab Thought" for 1983 published an article on Soviet Oriental studies, and the next contained material on a debate on the Asian mode of production that was held in Cairo. The institute has been headed since 1987 by Professor Mustafa at-Tir, the author of sociological and other research devoted to Libya and the Arab world.<sup>7</sup>

A delegation from the institute visited the Soviet Union in September of 1981 at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. The delegation was familiarized with the activity of the Oriental Studies Institute, the Africa Institute and the United States and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and visited the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the NOVOSTI Press Agency and some other institutions and organizations. Protocols were signed on academic collaboration with the Oriental Studies and Africa institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The Industrial Research Center (Markaz al-bukhis as-Sinaiyya) was created in 1970 and is headed by Muhammad Jafar Abu Kharis. Some 188 scientists and engineers were working there in 1987. They collect and summarize data on the state of industrial production in the country, its organization and planning and on labor productivity. The center conducts geological-survey

work and studies the most promising and economically efficient methods of extracting minerals, exploiting fields as well as their transportation, and makes practical recommendations for enterprises in the ore-mining industry. The chief task of the center consists of researching the state and prospects of the development of existing sectors of industrial production, as well as assisting industrial enterprises in solving their principal production problems via the incorporation of modern equipment and technology. The center develops practical recommendations for interested institutions.

The center is collaborating with scientific institutions in other countries in the realm of resolving scientific-research and organizational issues, especially with the League of Arab Nations in the realm of product standardization, the creation of an Arab-wide company to utilize mineral resources and in some other areas. The center has a scientific library whose inventory of books comprises some 5,500 books in Arabic, English and French. The library receives 250 periodicals a year.<sup>8</sup>

The Agricultural Research Center (*Markaz al-bukhis az-ziraiyya*) was created in 1971 for the purpose of conducting scientific research in the realm of agriculture and employing the results for the efficient utilization of the country's natural resources, as well as the development of agriculture on a basis of modern science and technology.<sup>9</sup> The center had three functional departments in 1987: research (sections: cultivation, animal husbandry, soils and irrigation, deserts and arid zones, natural resources, socio-economic problems), technical (sections: documentation, translation and publication, international and statistics) and a department of general questions. There are also branches located at experimental fields and farms in Tajur, az-Zukhra, al-Gira, Tarhuna, Sebha and al-Marj. The center's activity is guided by a council whose secretary is Professor Abdalla Abu Bakr. The center studies the state and prospects of the development of agriculture, and first and foremost its technical, economic and social aspects. Much work is done to preserve and improve natural resources, and agrarian problems in the oases and other agricultural regions, both irrigated and those in the dry-farming and desert zones, are studied along with the effects of climatic conditions on agrarian production, and the most efficient methods for improving cultivational and animal-husbandry production are being uncovered. Research in the realm of field-crop cultivation is aimed at revealing and extracting drought-resistant grades of grain and bean crops suitable for planting under the natural and climatic conditions of the country for the purpose of achieving food self-sufficiency in Libya. Much attention is devoted to fruit and vegetable cultivation. The center evaluates the economic expediency of implementing these or those agricultural projects in the country and is developing a program of subsidies for farm producers, as well as researching questions of selling agricultural output.

### Footnotes

\*—The survey is based on materials from the author's academic trip to Libya in 1987.

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9. Markaz al-bukhus az-zirayya. Tarikh al-markaz (Center for Agricultural Research. Brief History). Tripoli, 1978, p 6.

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### Book Review: Developing Countries in World Capitalist Economy

18070212i Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 89 pp 166-172

[Review by A.Ya. Elyanov of book "Razvivayushchiy-sya strany v mirovom kapitalisticheskom khozyayste" [The Developing Countries in the World Capitalist Economy] by G.K. Shirokov. Moscow, Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House, 1987, 239 pp]

[Text] This book, whose author has long enjoyed a reputation as a profound researcher, skillfully combining

a careful analysis of individual phenomena and facts with broad historical summary, is one of the few attempts in our literature to uncover and trace the interconnection of internal and external factors in the development of the liberated states. That fact alone makes its appearance an event out of the ordinary.

In defining the tasks of research, G.K. Shirokov justly notes their continuity in relation to the tasks that were posed in the recent incomplete work by V.L. Tyagunenko. In giving tribute to the memory of that scholar, Shirokov thereby establishes a time link, as it were, and marks definite milestones on the path of study of the issues he considers. This approach can only be welcomed. But even if we are speaking only about the immediate role of the developing countries in the world capitalist economy, it is possible to cite, aside from the work he mentions and others by Tyagunenko, the exceedingly interesting research of V.G. Pavlov, V.V. Rymalov, P.I. Khvoynik and N.P. Shmelev, who have made an appreciable contribution to interpreting this problem.

This work is moreover in no way limited just to researching that role. It is much broader in both design and incarnation. Shirokov traces in scrupulous and step-by-step fashion the interconnection of the nature and forms of participation of the developing countries in the international division of labor and the principal stages of development of capitalism in the mother countries. Scientific and technical as well as social aspects of this process often enter his field of view aside from intrinsically economic aspects herein. Material attention is also devoted to problems of the economic, and first and foremost industrial, development of the Third World countries themselves and its influence at the world economic level. The discussion, in short, essentially concerns a comprehensive, I would say systemic, approach to the socio-economic realities of the liberated nations in the overall context of world development, on the one hand, and an evaluation of the latter with a regard for the changes on its periphery, on the other.

This approach allowed the author to express his judgments on a very broad circle of issues that are connected with the economic development of the former colonial and dependent countries in one way or another. The book abounds in interesting ideas and observations, no small part of which are reinforced by an analysis of high-quality factual material and a well thought-out system of logical reasoning. The research on the main-springs of industrialization in the developing countries, as well as the reasons lying at the foundation of their relative displacement from the permanently functioning system of international economic ties, are especially fruitful in that sense. Representing a kind of framework for the whole book, the profound study of these two problems also served as nourishment for most interesting, albeit not always far from debatable, ideas.

Take the industrial development of the former colonial and dependent countries, which forms the central link of

the industrialization unfolding there now. The author determinedly turns upside down the unilateral explanations currently in circulation in our literature of this process as just due to internal or—as is more often encountered—only external factors. In the book both of these processes—industrialization and industrial development—are considered in close connection with both the socio-economic transformation of the developing countries themselves and with the development of the world economy.

The analysis contained in the book of the specific nature of the national market in the developing countries, in which the results of their economic and social development are materialized in the form of supply and demand, deserves the most steadfast attention. The discussion concerns in particular contradictory trends in the development of a subsistence and quasi-commodity (product-exchange) economy and the influence of that development on the scope and material-item content of money-exchange operations, the enhanced role—compared to contemporary world standards—of consumer goods in the local market and the negative consequences of the unprecedentedly profound stratification of that market (pp 94-106). The author's assertion that "such stratification and the fragmentation of effective demand it elicits make its satisfaction more difficult under modern large-scale methods of production" and, at the same time, "limits the sales of imported items in this group of countries" (p 102) is somewhat surprising, however.

The essence of the problem, it seems, is something else. The scattering of the comparatively limited overall amount of demand does not so much make its satisfaction more difficult as it makes more difficult or rules out altogether the organization of many types of modern industrial production there. Difficulties of this sort have moreover chiefly affected the production of capital goods, which in principle requires more voluminous markets for its development than the output of consumer items. The poor efficiency (and, consequently, market competitiveness) of many of the industrial enterprises that have been created in the developing countries, as well as the unusually profound gap between the limited selection of capital goods produced there and the rapidly diversifying pattern of demand for them, is linked with this to no small extent. This is also partially explained by the rapid growth in the demand of the developing countries for imports compared to local production. And the satisfaction of those requirements is impeded not only by the fragmented nature of demand, which can only somewhat increase the overall cost of imports, but also first and foremost by the lack of the currency resources essential to pay for them as caused by the lag in the development of exports.

The author's attempt to discern some specific nature determined by the laws of capitalism rather than elementary economic logic and vital necessity in development oriented toward the available market, as well as uncritical opposition of that development to the concept of socialist industrialization (p 107), is also somewhat

puzzling. After all, the essentially willfully hypertrophied and later dogmatized notions of I.V. Stalin on the possibility of urging on economic growth lie at the heart of the latter. As soon as this concept proceeds from the primacy of the production of capital goods as developed on the basis of so-called national-economic profitability, i.e. effectively independent of the opportunities for the sale and recoupment of its output, it can scarcely serve as a model for imitation. Need we mention in passing, in an era of active re-interpretation of long-standing theoretical stereotypes and the socio-economic realities that correspond to them, that this is not quite indisputable?

Shirokov cites a "market" strategy of industrial development for the former colonial and dependent countries as a counterpoise to the concept of socialist industrialization. But since products of foreign derivation already predominated in the market for modern industrial items in the majority of them by the time of the achievement of independence, this strategy "has taken on the nature of import substitution (i.e. the displacement of imported goods from the domestic market) or an export orientation" (pp 107-108).

However important each of these directions of industrial development may be in and of themselves, it is hardly possible to consider them as alternatives, the more so if the discussion concerns the initial stages of industrialization. It is difficult to imagine how and why one should be oriented toward the highly competitive world market before and/or instead of the much less exacting national market, which is moreover easily protected with customs barriers. It is another matter that due to the narrowness and fragmentation of the national market and the rapid growth in the need for imports of food, as well as goods of intermediate or investment demand and the attendant displacement of the finished products imported before, this displacement had to be persistently maintained and supplemented through exports of local industrial items. But the overwhelming majority of the countries were unable to do this to the proper extent, and they were forced to rely on exports of raw materials and foodstuffs first of all, if not exclusively, in their development as before. Today's weakness of their foreign economic positions—also convincingly revealed in the book—is also largely connected with this, by the way.

The multitude of forecasting considerations in the book are also of especial interest, in my opinion, testifying not only to the author's deep penetration to the essence of the phenomena he is considering, but also to his academic boldness. This is all the more true if we take into account the largely transitional nature of the contemporary stage of development of the world economy as conditioned by the unfolding scientific and technical revolution and the emergence of the new technological mode of production that is accompanying it. Such considerations are expressed relative to all of the principal groups of goods that determine the structure of international trade, moreover with a regard for their functions in the system of reproduction, and they therefore effectively permeate the whole book.

The analysis begins with raw materials and foodstuffs. The role of those commodity groups in the aggregate exports of the non-socialist world has an obvious trend toward a decline in connection with the rise in the overall level of world development and the consistent progression of scientific and technical revolution. The proportionate share of food has dropped by more than half—to 10.4 percent—and agricultural and mineral raw materials by three times, falling to 6.2 percent, over 30 years (1953-83) (p 47). The situation is complicated by the fact that it has become relatively crowded for the developing countries even in these relatively narrow markets: their share of exports from each of the cited groups has decreased by roughly 1.5 times over those same years, to 3.4 and 1.9 percent respectively (p 49).

The situation with deliveries of power raw materials took shape somewhat differently at first. Its share of export resources of the non-socialist world has also declined since the middle of the 1950s (albeit more slowly than food and other types of natural raw materials), but since the beginning of the 1970s it has begun to increase. This growth, caused by the increase of many times in oil prices, covered the drop in the share of power raw materials in world trade noted above with more to spare, but at the same time created powerful incentives for its utmost economy. And when prices for oil began to drop for the first time in ten years in 1983, the proportionate energy-intensiveness of economic growth at the centers of the world capitalist economy had now been solidly reduced. Their need to procure petroleum at the periphery had narrowed in corresponding fashion.

In short, the transition of the West toward resource-conserving technologies that is gaining force, as is shown convincingly in the book, is turning into the displacement of the developing countries from the world market with all of the negative consequences arising therefrom. They include the enormous burden of foreign indebtedness that arose as the result of their attempts to compensate for the shortage of export resources with borrowed funds, the curtailment of economic growth rates accompanied by reductions in the standard of living of the main body of the population, the increased vulnerability to foreign influences and much more. The author also emphasizes that no few additional difficulties in ensuring the foreign-economic balance of the developing countries were caused by the slowdown in the economic growth of the developed capitalist nations in the 1980s.

Shirokov is correct, in my opinion, seeing the way out of the extant situation in upgrading the exports of industrial items, i.e. saturating them with the output of the machining industry. Although a special chapter is devoted to researching this question, the author addresses it in many other places in the book as well. And that is understandable. The development of industrial exports, after all, is justly considered by him as both an important factor of industrialization and the attendant breakup of the colonial structure of the economy, and as an effective tool for overcoming the unequal position of the liberated states in the international division of labor.



One can scarcely agree with the fact that a marked expansion in industrial exports is possible with an unchanged socio-economic order or that it is even possible to postpone the execution of urgent transformations (p 136). Such a postponement, it seems, can be gained only with the development of traditional raw-material exports, since it is not accompanied by any appreciable changes in socio-economic conditions, but rather only creates certain preconditions for it. A significant spurt in the development of industrial exports, as long as the latter is an indicator of industrial maturity (pp 41, 140), simply cannot be accomplished in the absence of those preconditions—and serious transformations are required for their creation.

In order to reveal the accomplishments and prospects for the advancement of industrial items of the developing countries to foreign markets, Shirokov considers shifts in the commodity structure of exports and in the comparative advantages of different groups of countries, which ultimately determines their place in the international division of labor and the role of the MNC [multinational corporation] in international trade and the world capitalist economy, as well as the foreign-economic, and first and foremost foreign-trade, policies of the developing and developed capitalist countries themselves.

Notwithstanding the enormous difficulties caused by the necessity of penetrating into already occupied and moreover well-protected markets of other countries, the former colonies and semi-colonies, if we take them overall, were nonetheless able to achieve appreciable successes in the development of exports of industrial goods. Whereas in 1970 the share of those countries in aggregate industrial exports of the non-socialist world was 1.79 times less than their proportionate share of production, in 1981 it was 1.03 times (pp 139, 152). It is typical that this shift was actually achieved through increasing shipments of items of ultimate demand and relied on an expansion of the comparative advantages of the developing countries. The discussion herein concerns not only the increasing—to the extent of industrialization—extension of such advantages to types of production with long-standing technology, but also their appearance in sectors that utilize new technologies.

Insofar as foreign-trade demand for the output of resource-intensive sectors of industry in the developing countries that process mineral raw materials is growing at a slow pace, this cannot help but be encouraging. The problem is accordingly what the real dimensions and prospects are for the acquisition of comparative advantages in other sectors, both in the quantity of countries drawn into this process and by the types of technologies.

It follows from the material in the book that quite a limited circle of countries possessed such advantages in the 1970s. Evidently, taking into account the growth of the already excessively high concentration of industrial exports in this group of nations, the author asserts that the deepening economic stratification of the Third World is being accompanied by a steady reduction in the

number of countries able to expand their participation in the international division of labor (p 170). This assertion, however, is at least debatable.

Along with the increases in the share of several countries in aggregate industrial exports of the Third World, the overall number of states with dynamically growing exports of industrial items has grown as well. The appearance of the so-called “second-” and “third-generation” newly industrialized nations is associated directly with this. Three of the nine countries cited in the book, by the way—Argentina, Malaysia and the Philippines—are, strictly speaking, not in the first but rather in the second generation. Egypt, Indonesia, Columbia, the Ivory Coast, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey and some other countries are also relegated to that same group, or even sometimes the third generation. The overall number of countries from which broader participation in the international division of labor can be expected could be supplemented first and foremost from these latter ones.

The author's evaluation of the impending changes in the structure of industry of the developing countries and, correspondingly, their role in the international division of labor also does not seem to be wholly substantiated. The hypothesis relative to the “topping off” of local industrial structures and reductions in the share of intermediate items in imports as a result of this evokes a certain doubt in particular. The idea of the inevitable return of many liberated nations to a strategy of importing lies at the heart of that hypothesis. But insofar as the “upper stories” of industry there “have to this or that extent already been created, import substitution should extend primarily to the production of intermediate goods” (pp 131, 132).

Acknowledging the great likelihood of such a course of events, it is difficult to allow, however, that that direction of industrial development is not depleting all of its possible diversity. Other questions arise as well. Can the shortage of industrial goods in this or that country be considered an essential, the more so sufficient, condition for the organization of their output there at all? Or: how systematic is it to proceed from the simple “topping off” of existing industrial structures on the periphery of the world capitalist economy during their energetic renewal at the centers?

It is obvious that certain possibilities for development in this direction in individual countries are evident in connection with the varying degrees of development of those same “upper stories” of industry. The unfinished nature of the “upper stories” in many countries is moreover supplemented by the absence or weakness of the “lower” or “base” ones, i.e. production of the implements of labor. This makes it possible to speak of another possible direction of industrial construction. But even where both of the cited “stories” look most impressive, their construction in connection with the rapid renewal of the mix of industrial output as urged on by scientific and technical revolution can in no case be considered complete. Finally, regardless of the state of

those "stories," markets with any acceptable volume for the development of the overwhelming portion of these types of production in the output of intermediate items, in any case based on traditional technologies, are lacking in the majority of the developing countries. The opportunities for exports are expanded and the imperatives of import substitution are weakened thereby with the assimilation of new technologies engendered by the era of scientific and technical revolution, which can also function with more limited markets.

All of this returns us to the idea expressed by Shirokov earlier on the necessity of the utmost development of industrial exports. The resolution of this task, as was shown in the book, is largely complicated by the structural restructuring of the Western economy on the basis of new technologies, which has reduced to nil the comparative advantages acquired by the developing countries in the course of industrialization. The realization of those same advantages at the current stage is impeded by the system of neo-protectionism being practiced by the Western countries, called upon to support and ease the technical retooling of traditional sectors of industry in which the West had begun to lose its comparative advantages. Without subjecting these positions to the least doubt whatsoever, it is nonetheless difficult to concur entirely with the evaluation of the overall prospects and possible paths for advancement toward them.

In the opinion of the author, any changes in this situation can be expected only in the middle of the 1990s, when the structural restructuring of the Western economy will hypothetically be completed (p 123). But is such a postulation of the question legitimate in the face of the acceleration being observed today in scientific and technical progress? The new technological solutions under the conditions of that acceleration, after all, are beginning to become nearly always obsolete having barely been able to find practical application. And even if this supposition is correct, the completion of the current structural restructuring, creating preconditions for weakening artificial limitations for the industrial exports of the developing countries, can reduce its market competitiveness at the same time. Without in any way diminishing the ruinous consequences of protectionism, it should be emphasized that that is not the problem anyway, but rather first and foremost a renewal in the mix and a rise in the market competitiveness of local exports. The more so as some countries will be able to preserve and even reinforce their positions in Western markets with their current protection.

Notwithstanding the unusual complexity of this task, it can, it seems, be resolved with time in other, less developed and less dynamic nations of the Third World, which will gradually increase the overall number of newly industrial countries. And the issue is not only the intolerability of the situation that has been created for the developing countries themselves. It essentially does not suit the developed capitalist states either: both because it is fraught with the undermining of socio-political stability in the deep rear of the world capitalist

economy and later the preserved threat to disrupt the stability of its credit and financial system, and by virtue of the marked reduction in export capabilities to the periphery in the face of an increasing need to expand them, as stimulated by the assimilation of new and highly productive technologies.

Under these conditions the West can scarcely remain indifferent to a sharp reduction in the import potential of the developing countries. In order to strengthen their rear and expand access to local markets, it will clearly also have to think about seeking ways and means of improving the foreign economic positions of those countries. They could be steps toward further consolidation, as well as the write-off of foreign debt or the offering of additional financial resources to them on favorable terms. These steps could also include direct participation in the development of export types of production there, but obviously now on different organizational and technical principles than before, as well as, by the way, in the formation other sources of foreign-currency income from transit, financial and credit, tourist and other services. The probability of such a progression of events is directly dependent on the level of development and overall magnitude of economic and technical potential of individual countries, as well as the degree of their openness to the outside, objective and subjective readiness to adapt to changing circumstances and the geographical position and specific socio-economic nature of each country. The expected further gradual and multi-stage integration of the developing countries into the world economy is also partly connected with this.

It must be noted for the sake of fairness that the question of the vested interest of the West in reinforcing the export potential of the developing countries also has not been skirted in the book. This vested interest, however, like the majority of practical actions undertaken on the periphery by the centers of the world capitalist economy, is linked first and foremost—if not exclusively—with the chase for profits (p 129) and the desire to preserve and expand the scope of Third World exploitation (pp 12-13, 43, 61, 83, 93-94, 109-111, 177, 196, 217, 226-227). True, the possibilities for accelerating the structural restructuring of the economy and decreasing the dimensions of unemployment are mentioned in passing. Mentioned, but no more.

The export of capital to the developing countries, like any other investment, is naturally not done for unselfish reasons. The same relates to the export of goods, as long as the act of sale assumes compensation for the costs of production and the receipt of a certain profit. Need we reduce the whole diversity and complexity of relations between the centers and the periphery of the world capitalist economy to these, in general self-evident, facts? It would probably be correct only in the case where the discussion concerns some super-exploitation that goes beyond the bounds of generally recognized norms and laws of capitalist reproduction. But the book contains no data on such super-exploitation. And the statements about non-equivalent exchange are buttressed just

by a reference to losses of the so-called national value of the developing countries (pp 40, 44, 57).

The world market, where exchange of the results of economic activity is accomplished on the basis of international value, really does not admit—and under the conditions of competition cannot admit—production expenditures that are excessive according to its standards. They are devalued as a result. But expenditures caused by technical or organizational backwardness of some local enterprises whose products are sold on domestic markets that are excessive from the point of view of national standards are also devalued in exactly the same way. It seems that no one, however, would think of classifying them as a loss of value. And that is understandable. Value in real life, after all, can be manifested only through market prices, which are formed on the basis of socially necessary expenditures and not individual ones. Only those expenditures, in other words, that the consumer is ready to “recognize” by paying his own income with a saturated market and competition.

Having raised a broad circle of issues vitally important for contemporary world development, Shirokov has naturally tried to give his own answers to them. But these answers, by virtue of the particular complexity and multi-varied nature of that development, should clearly be considered more a set of hypotheses than a conclusive verdict not subject to discussion. The predominance of subjunctives in the author's interpretation of a number of problems of the past and present, as well as the exceedingly delicate attempts to look to the future, are convincing of this. All of this, in my opinion, conditions the unsurpassed significance of this book, representing an excellent beachhead for further debate. And not on the problems of the developing countries alone.

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### **Book Review: Social-Economic Statistics of Developing Countries**

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[Review by V.N. Karpunin of book “Sotsialno-ekonomicheskaya statistika razvivayushchikhsya stran” [Socio-Economic Statistics of the Developing Countries] by A.V. Sidenko. Moscow, Druzhba Narodov University Publishing House, 1987, 188 pp]

[Text] Statistical analysis is an indispensable element in studying the economic and social development of the developing countries. The methodology of that analysis in Soviet economic science, however, has still not been adequately developed. Soviet economists that are specialists on the developing countries have been forced to make broad use of foreign statistical research and development in this regard. That indicates the topical nature of the publication of this book.

The term “socio-economic statistics” entered academic circulation in our country comparatively recently—at the end of the last decade.<sup>1</sup> Before that the discussion had concerned economic statistics. The socio-economic statistics of the developing countries contain sections for demographic and labor statistics with the inclusion of social statistics, and sections for sector and national-economic (macro-economic) statistics. A.V. Sidenko's monograph accordingly researches a broad circle of issues in demographic and social statistical analysis: the formation of the basic indicators of statistics of the numbers, structure and reproduction of the population, a technique for forecasting the overall size of the population, and statistics of the labor and standard of living of the population in the developing countries. A number of questions are raised at the same time that relate to the statistical analysis of economic development: methods of evaluating gross national product, statistics for the principal sectors of economic activity etc. Special attention in the book is devoted to problems of econometric modeling and forecasting.

The complexity of the task facing the author consisted in particular of the fact that statistical research in the developing countries is at a low level, i.e. “initial statistical information for the computation of important indicators is insufficiently collected, imprecise methods are used that give approximate results, and a considerable delay in the publication of statistical data is observed” (p 3). The problem is also aggravated by the fact that in many cases the statistical methodology developed for the needs of the developed capitalist or socialist countries is not applicable in the developing countries without material alteration that takes their specific nature into account. That specific nature is conditioned by the lack of development of money-exchange relations in those countries and the illiteracy and low cultural level of the population, especially the rural population; it is also connected with local traditions.

The author, without being limited to demonstrations or substantiations of these or those statistical economic techniques, illustrates them by analysis of the actual economic situation in the Third World based on approaches he has developed himself.

One valuable quality of the book is the broad utilization of econometric apparatus. The active employment of econometric research methods is still rarely encountered in Soviet academic literature on the developing countries. The models offered by the author make it possible to use computer technology at the data-processing stage.

Sidenko begins his research with questions of the organization and methodology of demographic and labor statistics. One of the greatest difficulties in this sphere is organizing the systematic and accurate collection of data on various aspects of the demographic situation. The author considers in detail the principal sources and methods of collecting demographic information that have been adopted in the developing countries. Random surveys, requiring fewer personnel and funds than a census,

are widespread there. One material drawback of them is the lack of proper representativeness and lack of coordination of the surveys being conducted in different countries, making their juxtaposition and the computation of aggregate indicators for groups of countries more difficult. The author supports the viewpoint expressed by a number of economists in this regard that the value of the data could be enhanced if the censuses and random surveys are planned in interconnected fashion (p 12).

The author concludes overall that the system of organizing the collection of data in the developing countries is not able to ensure the basic principles of statistical research: accuracy, trustworthiness and timeliness. The actual data are thus frequently replaced with estimated indicators. The shortage and poor quality of primary information often leads to extremely debatable conclusions (pp 13, 19).

The second chapter considers questions of the mathematical statistical analysis of the size, structure and reproduction of the population. The author cites formulas for computing the dynamics of population size, but unfortunately he does not analyze their advantages or drawbacks. The systematization of techniques for the statistical analysis of the socio-economic structure of the population that is done in the work seems to be of value, done from the point of view of age, gender and ethnic composition, distribution by classes and social groups, by the traits of participation in social labor, by the sources of the means of existence, by sectors of the national economy, by the nature of labor, literacy and educational level.

The section of the work devoted to labor statistics in the developing countries is substantive. The author evaluates first and foremost the correlation of population groups according to age criteria with the delineation of individuals of able-bodied and non-working age. The description of the composition of the population by sources of the means of existence is of great significance. The questionnaires cited in the book with questions that were distributed in various developing countries to survey labor resources are of interest. The author also acquaints the reader with widely used techniques of random survey. Especial attention is devoted to questions of evaluating the level of partial (incomplete) employment in surveying labor resources. The problem here is determining the criteria of partial employment. The author justly emphasizes that it is exceedingly difficult to evaluate unemployment trends in the developing countries, where the corresponding information is usually lacking, while the nature of unemployment differs sharply from unemployment in the developed countries. The main body of the workforce is employed in low-productivity small-scale activity in agriculture and the unorganized services sphere. Increases in the workforce are often absorbed by sectors with a high level of incomplete employment, low labor productivity and low income levels.

One important question is statistical research on the interconnection of the population and economic growth.

The author, when considering this problem, concentrates his attention on analyzing the concept of "population pressure" and showing the limited nature of it. He tries to argue the thesis that rapid population growth is not an obstacle to development, the more so as the nature of the influence of the population on the economy has not been researched thoroughly (p 45).

One important task of socio-economic statistics is studying the standard of living in the developing countries. The book poses the question of the statistical determination of the levels of poverty in this regard. Two basic methods are used for this: direct and indirect. In accordance with the former, the number of poor includes those whose level of consumption does not satisfy certain criteria of minimal requirements. This method has a number of drawbacks, since the level of minimal requirements itself is exceedingly relative and can differ considerably not only among countries, but even among individual regions within one country. The indirect method proceeds from the magnitude of the minimal monetary resources essential to satisfy the basic requirements at the level of the so-called "poverty line." One can agree with the author when he speaks of the unconvincing and confused nature of the majority of the criteria that determine the poverty line. He himself prefers the criterion of the minimal sufficient norm of spending on sustenance, housing, medical care etc.

The problem of the accuracy and reliability of demographic forecasting, to which much attention is devoted in the book, is an acute one in statistical science. The author is correct in emphasizing that long-range calculations of population size are the least developed part of demography. Econo-demographic models that also use various directions of demographic and socio-economic policy to evaluate the anticipated results are being created to take into account various quantitative and qualitative factors of demographic development. The book considers existing techniques for computing the future size of the population: formulas for extrapolating the values for population size and an econometric method of evaluation are investigated in detail, and their advantages and drawbacks are demonstrated.

The author offers several ideas for improving traditional techniques of demographic forecasting and for the broad application of econometric models here.

The second major section of the book is devoted to an analysis of the statistics of sector economic activity. The author begins his research with an extremely important problem—methods of evaluating the gross national product in comparable prices. He describes the three methods of computing indicators in constant prices that are used in the developing countries: valuing output in base-period prices (obtained by multiplying the quantity of each type of product for the reporting period by the corresponding price for the base period); extrapolation of the indicator of base-period value (via multiplication

of it by the index of physical volume of production); and, division of the indicator of value for the reporting period by a price index.

The first method is the most logical, but it also poses the most serious problems. It is enough to say that the actual ways of recalculating according to this method differ greatly in individual countries. The comparability of data on national accounting is not ensured due to this, and intersector comparative analysis is made more difficult.

The book reviews in detail the statistics for the principal sectors of economic activity: agricultural production, including methods of organizing statistics for cultivation and animal husbandry; industry, the construction sector and the services sphere. The author shows that difficult problems have to be solved in organizing industrial statistics in the developing countries, including the grouping of industrial enterprises into small, medium and large, as well as relegating enterprises to this or that sector. In the first instance the grouping is carried out according to the number of workers and, more rarely, by output volume or the size of investment. Special surveys are conducted of the construction industry in a number of countries: the author describes a typical program of such research. In speaking of the methodology of statistics of various types of services in the developing countries, the author emphasizes that the valuation of the share of those services in the GNP is very poor and unreliable.

The last section of the monograph is devoted to problems of macro-economic modeling and forecasting the development of the liberated countries. Econometrics, which establishes a quantitative interconnection between economic variables with the aid of statistical-probability methods, is being used more and more often of late to analyze complex economic phenomena in those countries. Regression equations describing with a certain probability the dynamics of the economic system through changes in indicators that define economic processes serve as the structural elements of econometric modeling. The author familiarizes the reader with various macro-economic models of economics and with the stages of macro-economic modeling and forecasting. The model of a self-contained economy, which is simpler and allows a transition to complex models of an open economy afterward, is analyzed in detail in particular. The author also demonstrates macro-economic modeling constructs and stages he developed for the compilation of forecasts based on the examples of Peru and Ethiopia.

In completing his consideration of the topic, the author could not skirt the organizational and technical problems hindering the systematization and intensification of work in statistical research on the developing countries countries that exist in Soviet statistics. It is essential, in his opinion, to resolve the issue of the better-defined coordination of work being conducted in that sphere both in the USSR and in the socialist countries overall. Sidenko proposes the creation of a centralized bank for statistical information and models that could be utilized both by modelers and by interested organizations and scholars.

This would rule out the duplication of work in collecting and systematizing statistical information and would provide an opportunity to publish new and refined information on the developing countries regularly, as well as the corresponding forecasts. It seems that the time has long since come for the posing of these questions.

I would like to make a few observations in conclusion. The author, in my opinion, was unable to find the optimal correlation between analysis of questions that relate directly to the methodology of statistics of the developing countries and the concrete consideration of their contemporary realities in a number of sections. It is thus difficult to deem felicitous the condensed review of many of the complex socio-economic problems of the developing countries contained in the book without a profound and comprehensive analysis of them, the more so as that is not the aim of this work (see, for example, Chapter 4—"The Population Problem in the Liberated Countries and Its Consequences"). A similar passion for the concrete statistical description of the situation in this or that realm sometimes diverts the author from the chief task of the book—the development and systematization of the methodology of statistical research. The author was unfortunately unable to avoid outdated stereotypes in a number of places, for example on the existence of the gold content of the dollar (p 66), non-equivalent exchange (p 65) etc. But all of these shortcomings are of a secondary nature and do not detract overall from the value of this book as a useful text for researchers of the socio-economic problems of the developing countries.

#### Footnotes

1. See, for example: M.O. Nazarov. "On the Course of Socio-Economic Statistics."—*VESTNIK STATISTIKI*. 1979, No 9; K. Reshetinskiy. "Some Questions of Statistical Instruction."—*VESTNIK STATISTIKI*. 1980, No 7.

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#### Problems of USSR Study of Afghanistan

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[Article by A.L. Gryunberg under the rubric "Responses, Replies, Debate": "Some Questions of the Study of Afghanistan in the USSR"]

[Text] It is entirely obvious today that we were unable to evaluate the domestic political climate in Afghanistan correctly in good time and foresee the international and internal repercussions of the political and military actions we took there by virtue of a number of subjective reasons connected with negative phenomena in our society (as has been mentioned repeatedly in party documents since the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee). The analysis of events was superficial,



dogmatic, vulgar-sociological, dilettantish and unprofessional. Decisions were made, as a rule, without a proper regard for the complex intertwining of a multitude of social, national, ethno-psychological and other factors and without a regard for the specific nature of that country and the situation in the whole region. Our Oriental-studies scholars bear a certain share of the responsibility for this as well, as was justly pointed out in particular at the 3rd All-Union Conference of Oriental Scholars (Dushanbe, May 1988).<sup>1</sup>

One of the mistakes that we made in Afghanistan was the exclusively technocratic and narrow economic approach to rendering Soviet aid to that country. The same underestimation of the role of the human factor that we are speaking openly of as applied to our own country had full effect here as well. It has long been well known to specialists, meanwhile, that liberal-arts projects (history, archaeology, ethnography, literary and language studies) have a considerably greater psychological effect—and are relatively cheaper—than expensive economic contracts in Afghanistan, as in many other developing countries. All of the peoples and ethnic groups of Afghanistan have a burning interest in their history, culture and language. This circumstance was fully taken into account at one time by specialists from West Germany, the United States and France, who devoted considerable attention to collaboration with Afghanistan in liberal-arts realms.

Today that interest is growing even more in connection with the complex political and ethnic processes transpiring in the country, where the fate of the people is being decided and the process of forming a broad coalition is unfolding that would draw in all of the political strains, be based on all of society, and be recognized by the people, as well as in connection with the attempts to have interchange with the cultures of nationalities that were deprived of the opportunity to develop them in their native languages before.<sup>2</sup>

One of the reasons (and simultaneously consequences) for this under-estimation of liberal arts is the insufficient participation of our Afghan specialists in developing Soviet policy in relation to Afghanistan. Specialists in the recent past were either not involved in this matter, or their recommendations sat “in offices” and did not reach the practical workers in acute need of them at all. The excessive desire to “centralize” Afghan studies, concentrating them primarily at one academic institution (the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow), also had a negative effect, having as a consequence the subjective striving for a “monopoly” on the part of certain specialists.<sup>3</sup> Afghan studies in our country are being poorly replenished with new personnel, and young specialists (including those with experience working in that country) are not being utilized to the proper extent.

The fact that the specialists themselves are often deprived of access to important information (Soviet and foreign) or that it comes to them after a long delay also

has a negative effect at the level of our Afghan studies. The few specialists on Afghanistan we have in this country are poorly linked with each other, and there is no special Afghan-studies journal in our country (although such journals are published in Austria and England).<sup>4</sup> “Breaking through” the publishing houses with the publication of important Afghan works sometimes proves to be unbelievably difficult. The publication of the Dari language text by B.Ya. Ostrovskiy is being intolerably delayed at the GRVL [Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature] of Nauka Publishing House, and they have been unable to publish the Russian translation of the book by V. Shtoyli “Pashtunvali. Code of Honor of the Pashtos and Its Legal Aspects.” The “Grammatical Sketch of the Afghan Language (Pashto)” by A.L. Gryunberg has been held to an intolerably small circulation (1,000 copies) through the stubborn opposition of the central office of Akademkniga Publishing House. The circulation of the translation of the book by K. Yettmar “The Religion of Gindukush” (5,000 copies) is also minuscule. It is difficult under these conditions to speak of publishing translations of many of the other topical books on Afghan studies that have come out in the West in recent years that are essential first of all to our practical workers, but also to Afghan specialists as well.

The references to economic considerations that are made in such cases by the individuals on whom the publication and determination of circulation of Afghan literature depends are explained, as a rule, by their ill-informed nature. Sometimes it is necessary to go out and seek the funds to publish such special works that will not be sold out to the general reader in a short period of time. The loss we bear from the fact that these works are not accessible to academic and practical workers is many times greater than the apparent pseudo-economy—that is axiomatic.

Knowledge of the local languages is very poorly disseminated among specialists working in Afghanistan. The concept of the “country-studies expert” does not exist, and there is no such position, as far as I know, at a single one of our institutions or on contract in Afghanistan. No one is training such specialists with a broad world view and a knowledge of both main languages of Afghanistan (Dari and Pashto) either, if you don’t count the Afghan history division of the Near East faculty in the Oriental Department at Leningrad University [LGU], but even there the training is running up against a series of difficulties (which, by the way, could easily have been surmounted if the department had been rendered the proper assistance in timely fashion by the former Minvuz [Ministry of Higher Education]).

Instruction in the Dari language is in need of considerable improvement. The quantity of textbooks published in this language is exceedingly small; frequently, people who received their training in Iranian Farsi are used as translators of Dari, which creates difficulties in the work for them (as least for quite a while). Naturally, these specialists usually do not have any conception of the Pashto language. Research work in the Dari language is also insufficient.

The alarming fact should also be noted that over recent years the level and amount of instruction in the Pashto language has declined appreciably at our educational institutions. The requisite attention is not being devoted to instruction in this language. On the other hand, the fact that the specialists who have mastered only Pashto but do not know Dari are finding only limited application for themselves is not being taken into account as before. The qualified specialist on Afghanistan should have mastered both languages to a sufficient extent, and instruction at all educational institutions where specialists for Afghanistan are trained should be conducted namely with a regard for this circumstance.

The teaching of the Baluchi language and the culture of the Baluchis in the USSR is a special question. This question has truly great political significance. There are currently two people (!) studying Baluchi in the USSR. No Baluchi-Russian or Russian-Baluchi dictionary exists, and there are no grammars of that language in Russian either. Features devoted to the Baluchis are exceedingly rare. Meanwhile, there is an international center for Baluchi studies in Naples; much attention is also being devoted to the study of the Baluchis in the United States. Moscow radio transmits no programs in Baluchi (since there are no specialists, it cannot be done anyway), although such transmissions have been made for a long time from London and are being broadcast from Iran, not to mention Pakistan. Notwithstanding repeated appeals to central organs, the Baluchi national minority on the territory of Turkmenia has no writing or schooling in their native language, which is having a negative propaganda effect (attempts to create such writing were curtailed in 1937 on the pretext of the "struggle against nationalism." The question of creating a preparatory group for Baluchis desiring to obtain higher education in Iranian language studies so as to specialize later in the study of their native language and culture at the Oriental faculty of LGU was decided in the negative several years ago. (Such a preparatory group is essential because the Baluchis are educated in rural schools in Turkmen and cannot matriculate at LGU through the entrance examinations.)

The study of the ethnography of the peoples of Afghanistan is at an exceedingly low level here today. There are almost no specialists here, and those that there are do not have the conditions for fruitful work. The exposition devoted to Afghanistan at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Leningrad) has been closed for many years now, and the collection has not been supplemented in decades; a multitude of opportunities for supplementing the collections have not been and are not being utilized at all.

The development of Afghan studies, like other liberal arts sciences, is being hindered by the unusually complicated procedure for sending books abroad, the intolerably high postal tariffs, the system of closed stacks and existing procedures for using reproduction equipment. The lag in our sciences, and especially Afghan studies,

behind the West is guaranteed forever without the fundamental resolution of these issues.

Responsible individuals are clearly lacking an understanding of the fact that all of liberal sciences start with institutions of higher learning, first and foremost the university. We will have the kind of specialists we train. Meanwhile the Oriental faculty of LGU—the oldest and in many regards the strongest Oriental-studies teaching institution in the country—ceaselessly encounters a number of difficulties—personnel, technical, organizational and financial—and the faculty themselves are frequently unable to resolve these difficulties (especially those concerning the training of most qualified specialists on Afghanistan). Analogous difficulties, as far as I know, are also being experienced by other of our Oriental-studies institutions of higher learning.

I make these concrete suggestions:

1. Take urgent steps to maintain the tradition of studying the languages of Afghanistan in the USSR. Envisage in particular for that purpose a minimum of two graduate spots at the LO IYa [Leningrad Division of the Institute for Language Studies] of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the next few years (with the subsequent acceptance of those finishing graduate studies onto the staff of the LO IYa). Undertake corresponding measures for other areas of Afghan studies at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute (in Moscow and Leningrad) and at the Institute of Ethnography (in Moscow and Leningrad).
2. Assist the Oriental faculty of LGU in preparing national-studies specialists with a knowledge of the two languages, for which the department should be allotted two graduate spots in the Near East department and two more in the Iranian philology department (and subsequently joining the staff).
3. Envisage the future restructuring of the curriculum at other institutions of higher learning (the ISAA [Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa] of MGU [Moscow State University], MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of International Relations] and VIIYa [Military Foreign Languages Institute] among others) with a regard for the necessity of training specialists with a knowledge of both languages. Raise the requirements for those entering those educational institutions in this regard. Strengthen markedly the national-studies element in the training of translators at all educational institutions of both the USSR State Committee for Popular Education and at other agencies.
4. Review the requirements of educational institutions for educational literature (texts, references and the like) on the history and languages of Afghanistan, and provide for their preparation in sufficient quantity and at a sufficiently high level (for which the procedures for the use of reproduction technology in particular must be eased).

5. Provide for the fastest possible movement of the most topical works in Afghan studies through the Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House.

6. Consider as an especially topical task an expansion of research in the study of the language and culture of the Baluchis. Envisage the fastest possible publication of Baluchi-Russian and Russian-Baluchi dictionaries and small-circulation texts on the Baluchi language. Charge the Oriental faculty of LGU with training specialists in Baluchi studies from among Soviet Baluchis, for which preparatory courses must be organized at LGU. Return once more to the question of restoring Baluchi writing and the publication of literature in Baluchi in the USSR, as well as instruction in the Baluchi language in the corresponding elementary schools of the Turkmen-Kalinsk and Iolotan regions of the Turkmen SSR.

7. Facilitate to the utmost Soviet-Afghan ties in the realm of liberal arts. Render effective aid to the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Afghanistan in studying the languages of Afghanistan, both the general national ones and regional ones.

The author realizes that the aforementioned suggestions do not embrace the whole circle of issues whose solution is essential for the successful development of Afghan studies. The participation of many specialists is essential to devise a more complete program. It would be expedient in that regard to convene an all-union conference of Afghan scholars in the first half of 1990. The organization of such a conference could be taken up by the Bureau of the Seminar of Leningrad Afghan Scholars

with the support of the All-Union Association of Oriental Scholars and the directorate of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

#### Footnotes

1. See, for example: G.F. Kim. *Oriental Studies Under the Conditions of Restructuring*.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1988, No 5, p 3.

2. Collaboration with Afghanistan in the sphere of liberal arts is not developing intensively enough, however, and sometimes runs into departmental and bureaucratic hurdles. The planned deadlines for the implementation of a joint program in the realm of studying the languages that was coordinated with the Afghans by the author back at the beginning of 1987 in Kabul have already been disrupted.

3. I note in passing that political science of the moment is not a science, although it is frequently equated with science. It can become a science only in the case where historical, ethnographic and cultural data—the whole set of liberal-arts knowledge of a country—are fully and skillfully taken into account. This naturally does not relate to Afghan studies alone.

4. The Seminar of Leningrad Afghan Scholars, several sessions of which were held in 1988, was organized with a regard for the aforementioned in Leningrad at the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

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